

A full-page photograph of a man in a blue long-sleeved shirt and light-colored shorts, wearing a patterned headscarf, crouching on a raft made of bamboo poles. The raft is on a calm river, with a dense tropical forest of palm trees and other greenery in the background under a blue sky with white clouds. The man is barefoot and appears to be adjusting something on the raft. The water reflects the man and the surrounding landscape.

Imahera and Beyond

Edited by
L.E. Visser



HALMAHERA AND BEYOND

The series Proceedings of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde includes papers presented at scholarly meetings of various categories organized under the auspices of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

Cover: Sahu, Halmahera (photograph Leontine E. Visser, 1980)

KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

Proceedings 1

HALMAHERA AND BEYOND

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN THE MOLUCCAS

Edited by Leontine E. Visser



1994
KITLV Press
Leiden
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Published by:

KITLV Press

Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
(Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology)

P.O. Box 9515

2300 RA Leiden

The Netherlands

CIP-GEGEVENS KONINKLIJKE BIBLIOTHEEK, DEN HAAG

Halmahera

Halmahera and beyond : social science research in the Moluccas / ed. by Leontine E. Visser. - Leiden : KITLV Press. - (Proceedings / Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde ; 1)

Met index, ref.

ISBN 90-6718-072-6 geb.

Trefw.: social science research ; Moluccas.

Cover: Rita DeCoursey

ISBN 90 6718 072 6

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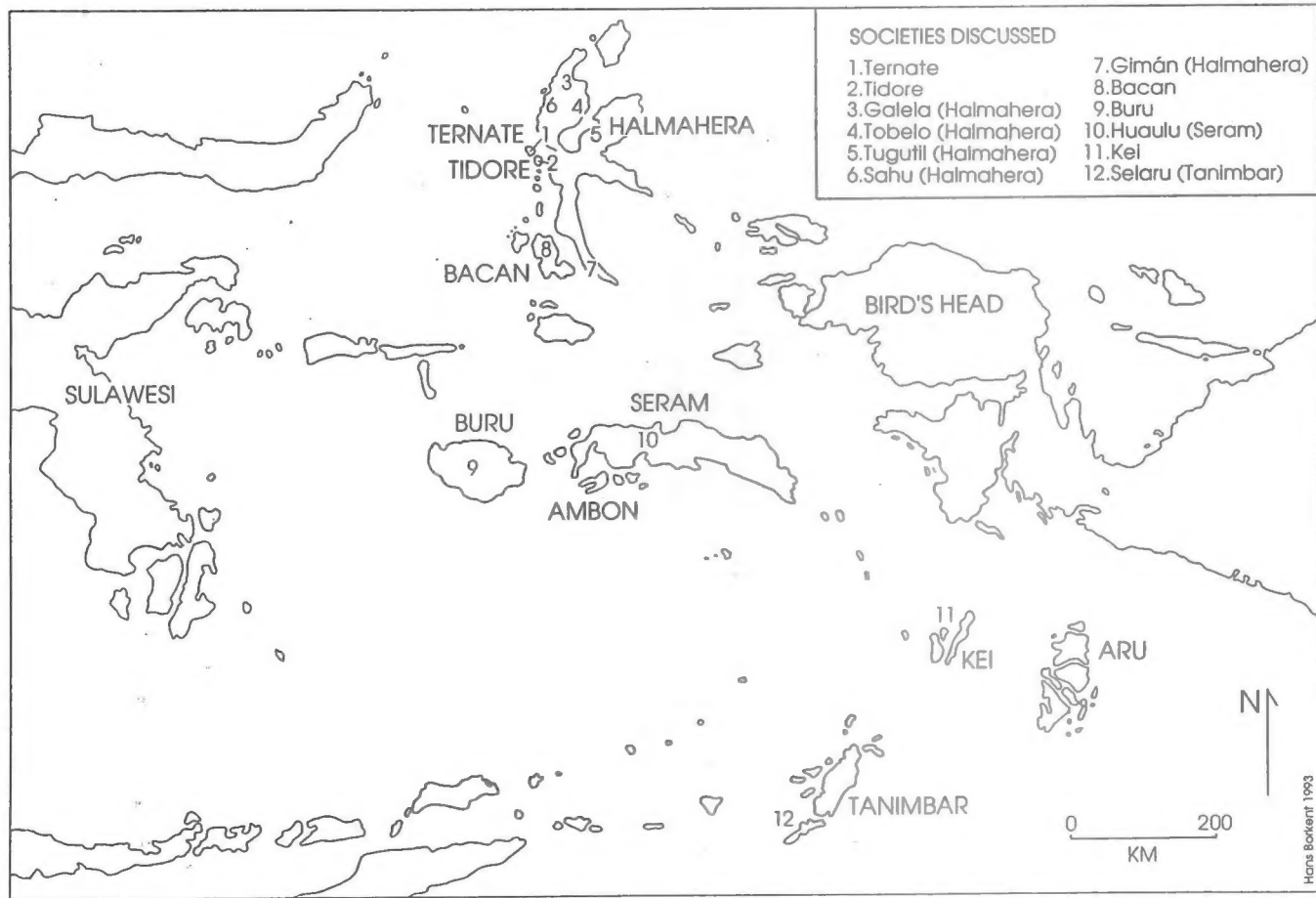
Printed in the Netherlands

RSCH
IAFM6391

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LEONTINE E. VISSER

Introduction

The present volume is the outcome of the Fifth International Workshop on Indonesian Studies organized by the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV) at Leiden, 8-12 October 1990.¹ The Workshop brought together many of the scholars who have conducted research in Eastern Indonesia since the inception of the Halmahera Research Project in the mid-1970s. It was also intended to be a *balasan* or return gift by the Dutch counterparts of the Project for the many seminars on Eastern Indonesian studies organized by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) and various Eastern Indonesian universities during the last decade.

When LIPI inaugurated its ambitious Halmahera Research Project it encouraged the participation of Dutch scholars within the framework of the already existing Indonesian Studies Programme (PRIS). As a result, from 1977 onward the Halmahera Research Project became one of the two major PRIS research programmes.² In addition to the Dutch and Indonesian scholars who participated in counterpart teams in the project, a team of Japanese (see Ishige 1980) and individual American researchers (Taylor 1990; Baker 1988) were also involved. Between 1977 and 1990 a total of seven Indonesian and twelve foreign scholars carried out studies and published on the North Moluccas (Halmahera, Ternate, Tidore, Bacan and Makian). More recently, research on the islands of Halmahera and Tidore is being undertaken by a new generation of scholars, including Ajawaila (on Galela), and Frojen and Proboyo (on Tidore). During the last few years the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has expanded its linguistic research in Halmahera as well.

The Halmahera Research Project has resulted in a significant number of publications mainly in the fields of anthropology, linguistics and history, including eight Ph.D. theses (Baker 1988; Van Fraassen 1987; Martodirdjo 1991; Nijland 1989; Platenkamp 1988; Taylor (1980) 1990; Teljeur (1985) 1990;

¹ The workshop was organized by Professor C. van Dijk on behalf of KITLV and Dr Leontine E. Visser from Leiden University. It was financed by the KITLV, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science (KNAW), and the Leiden University Foundation (LUF), for whose support we are very grateful.

² The other press programme is the Madura Research Programme.

Visser (1984) 1989); two films (Jouwiersma 1985; Nijland 1985), and a dictionary (Visser and Voorhoeve 1987).

Although the focus of interdisciplinary research was on the North Moluccas, research in other parts of the Moluccas and Raja Ampat/Irian Jaya was also stimulated. In the Central and Southeastern Moluccas research had already been carried out in the 1970s on Ceram (Ellen, Valeri) and Kei (Barraud), and was followed during the 1980s by research undertakings in Tanimbar (McKinnon, Pauwels), Kei (Spyer), Babar (Van Dijk, De Jonge), Damer (Pannell), and Buru (Grimes). References concerning Moluccan research since 1980 have been listed in the Bibliography at the end of this volume.

Many of the early and more mature results of these activities have been presented during the five LIPI seminars on Halmahera and Eastern Indonesia. A complete list of the papers presented at these seminars, not all of which have been published, has been included under a separate heading at the end of this volume (see List of seminar papers). Since the two main bibliographical sources on the North Moluccas (Polman 1981) and on the Central Moluccas (Polman 1983) were published before the results of the Halmahera Research Project and other more recent studies became available, the Bibliography at the end of this volume lists most of the publications on the Moluccas since the early 1980s and may be regarded as an update of Polman's work. It is not our intention, however, to present an exhaustive bibliography, but to provide the reader who is interested in the Moluccas or in Eastern Indonesian societies in general with an overview of the anthropological, linguistic and historical research in the Moluccas between 1980 and 1992.

Proceedings structure and rationale

The contributions to this book have been arranged in two sections. The first includes the history of the North Moluccas (Lapian) and the political-administrative role of the Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore (Van Fraassen, Baker and Grimes). Special attention is paid here to the dynamic relationship between the Sultanate as 'the State' and North and Central Moluccan societies. Secondly, the relevance of kinship and the organization of present-day Moluccan societies by means of Houses is convincingly shown by the studies of Pauwels and Barraud. The ethnographic study of Martodirdjo fills a gap in the knowledge on hunter-gatherer societies in Eastern Indonesia. The description by Teljeur then provides insight into the impact of external influences, especially Islam, on a South Halmaheran society. A special position is provided for Nijland's paper on the ethnocinematographic methodology used in the presentation of the film 'Tobelo Marriage' to the people

involved. Valeri's contribution takes us from the more ethnographic level to the general question of how 'knowledge' is classified and used in different social and cultural contexts, a problem that is also addressed by Baker in his above-mentioned paper.

Apart from its contribution to the anthropological and historical understanding of the Moluccas, this volume also addresses the issue of social science research policy. Both the papers by Masinambow and by Visser discuss the contribution of social science research to regional development.

Intercultural and diachronic comparison has not been confined to the North Moluccas. The Eastern Indonesian workshops organized by LIPI gradually covered the rest of the Moluccas, Minahasa, Raja Ampat and the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya. This Fifth KITLV Workshop includes contributions on Bacan, Ternate, Tidore, Halmahera (Galela, Gimán, Sahu, Tobelo, Tugutil) in the North, on Buru and Ceram in the Central Moluccas, and on Kei and Tanimbar in the southeast. Most of the contributions are revised versions of the papers presented in English at the KITLV Workshop. Some have been translated into English for this book. Nijland's paper, which contains a methodologically highly relevant description of the experiment of taking his film back to the Tobelo participants in order to have their comments on the film, has been included in Dutch because an English version was not yet available. The paper by Martodirdjo has been included in Indonesian to enable the publication of a detailed description of the Tugutil, an Eastern Indonesian hunter-gatherer society. Some contributions to the Workshop are not included in the present volume: the linguistic paper by Voorhoeve will shortly be published in the Semaian series,³ two of the anthropological contributions, by Platenkamp and by McKinnon, have since been published elsewhere (Platenkamp 1992; McKinnon 1991).

Regional comparison has been dealt with most explicitly by Barraud in her analysis comparing the kinship vocabularies of Galela and Kei. The Galela highly value the elder/younger same-sex sibling hierarchy to order affinal relationships. In Kei, affinal relationships are classified in terms of 'a brother/sister relationship. According to Barraud, marriage adds to the ordering of society in older/younger terms in Galela, and in terms of ancestors of a brother/sister in Kei.

The elder/younger same-sex sibling hierarchy not only dominates kinship vocabulary but also the ordering of social units. Another example can be found with the Tugutil who, like the Galela, live in Northeast

³ The Semaian series is published by the Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, Leiden University, the Netherlands.

Halmahera. The Tugutil hunter-gatherers studied by Martodirdjo live in two groups, the 'first' or 'elder' people of Tutuling as contrasted to the 'second' or 'younger' Dodaga people. This classification relates to the elder/younger same-sex sibling relationship of the ancestors of the two groups.

The diachronic quality of social organization is evident not only in settlement patterns but especially in arrangements through time between Houses. On the Tanimbar island of Selaru, as in Kei, the classificatory relationship between Houses is expressed in terms of a brother/sister relationship which takes the specific form of a row of Houses linked to each other by marriage. Following Pauwels, each House in the row has received a woman from the previous House, the daughter of whom it gives in marriage to the following House. The people of Selaru may remember a row of as many as thirteen names of women, mothers one to the other, whose marriages lie at the origin of a particular row of Houses. These analyses provide us with a detailed analysis of what, before the Second World War, was described by Dutch missionaries in the South Moluccas as a system of matrilinear cross-cousin marriage. The recent studies by Pauwels and McKinnon have presented a far more complex and dynamic picture.

'Against the formulations of Lévi-Strauss and Leach, Tanimbarese material poses the mutual elicitation of closed and open asymmetric pathways – of egalitarian and hierarchical forms. Tanimbarese ultimately see matrilinear cross-cousin marriage as fundamentally hierarchical, and this hierarchy is manifest in the nature of relations along the open extended pathways of exchange and alliance. But the continuity of this hierarchical form is possible, not because of the breakdown and demise of all egalitarian cycles, but rather because the egalitarian cycle is preserved as a rare and contrasting form.' (McKinnon 1991:23-4.)

Both forms of alliance are an integral part of a single system rather than historical developments of one another. 'For Tanimbarese, these are the forces and forms of history' (McKinnon 1991:24).

The formation of such an open pathway or row concerns not only the women. Men, whether a mother's brother or a brother, are as much involved in the constitution of the House and the continuation of the row of which the House is a part, being responsible for their blood. Pauwels' detailed description of the House shows that the classificatory principle of elder/younger same-sex sibling (*waire*) may very well be extended to cover all elder/younger relationships within the House, overruling both the opposition between the sexes and between the generations. Thus, the hierarchy between elder and younger regulates exchange relations within the House and, as such, it is encompassed in the brother/sister relationship governing the relations between the Houses in a row. 'The descendants of the sister become a row, the brother stays in order to constitute a House which watches over the row' (Pauwels, this volume).

The anthropological analysis of society in terms of its organizational principles is sometimes regarded as irrelevant to the development of modern society. Yet, anyone who has seen the film 'Tobelo Marriage' by Nijland and his Indonesian counterparts (1985) will be convinced of the relevance of the arrangement of proper social relationships between boys and girls, households, and Houses for present-day Tobelo villagers. The vitality of these social concepts does not seem to be affected by externally imposed religious notions, as the social significance of the brother/sister hierarchy in Christianized Kei and Tanimbar and in the Islamized society of Gimán (South Halmahera) may show. Circumcision (*sunat*) of boys and girls in Gimán is definitely of Islamic origin. But upon its introduction into Gimán culture the Islamic ritual has been adjusted to include a notion of social order: 'an incestuous relationship is thought to exist between a male child and his mother and sisters which can only be removed by circumcision which thus sets him free to marry' (Teljeur, this volume).

The history of Islam is most pertinent in Ternate, as is the notion of the Moluccas as the 'four mountains' (*Maluku-Kie-Raha*). Dutch sources, like Krom and Pigeaud, who based their interpretations on the Nagarakertagama, identified 'Maloko' with Ternate. Yet, argues Lapien, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries up until 1682, Bacan was the most important polity. It was only after the decline of Bacan's power that the confederation of the four Moluccan power centres of Ternate, Tidore, Bacan and Jailolo (Northwest Halmahera) came into being. Lapien finds support for his thesis in myths, like the myth of the four serpent eggs, and in old Portuguese sources using the name of Batucina de Moro to refer to North Halmahera. Batuchina, he argues, has less to do with China than with the notion of peninsula, which is the original meaning of the word. Nevertheless Lapien suggests that Batuchina – Bat(a)chin(a) – Bacan refers to the oldest power in the region, a conclusion which is further supported by the discovery of historical evidence of the migration of Malay-speaking peoples, like the Bajau. Another outcome of Lapien's research and the subsequent discussion at the KITLV Workshop is a strong plea for further inquiry into the Portuguese sources on Eastern Indonesia.

Van Fraassen focuses in his paper on Ternate's power vis-à-vis its dependencies, especially during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To what extent was Ternate's empire fact or fiction? One may argue about the term 'fiction' in a cultural context where Ternate's function to legitimize local power is no less real than its politico-historical facts, like warfare and territorial annexation.

He concludes that Ternate's physical power and control over its dependencies was supported by the latter's use of this external power as a source of legitimation for local power. Local power is thus externally legitimized or is

believed to have an external source. An excellent example of this is found in Baker's contribution to this volume. The Sultan of Tidore's political authority is of external origin: The order of the state was born out of a union between a foreigner and a local woman, a *jin*. Thus the Sultan's political authority, coming from abroad and active in government and warfare, is coupled to the spiritual authority of the island's *sowohi* who acts as ritual mediator with the *jin* of the island. Baker elucidates the very dynamic character of the political-administrative relationships between the State, that is the Tidore Sultanate, and village-level Tidore society. Apart from its theoretical interest, his contribution reminds us of the fact that Tidore should not be identified with the Sultanate, a trap we are easily lured into by historical treatises dealing mostly with Tidore's political organization.

Titles of external origin may also be used to legitimize power, but sometimes this social quality seems to be of secondary importance to a more individual quality, namely the ability to speak, as in Buru society. Grimes explains how the title of *matgugul* is used for those leaders of the *noro* who are said to have been appointed as the Sultan of Ternate's representatives on Buru and who were responsible for collecting tribute to be sent to Ternate. This historical linkage to the Sultanate is still a source of prestige today. According to Buru ideology there is no power difference between *noro* leaders or titled people (*geba emnga*) who are 'raised up' by a *noro*, and the *matgugul* whose title and position have a foreign source. She stresses the fact that 'regardless of the source of their entitlement, eloquent speech continues to be the way in which titled men effectively motivate others to action. Their power comes from their words not from their title.' (Grimes, this volume.)

One cultural option to deal with the hierarchy between local and immigrant entitlements or power that is shown by these contributions is to ignore it or to turn one's back on it. Another option is taken by the Tidorese, who regard the indigenous source of spiritual power and the foreign one of political power as complementary, manifesting themselves in the form of a diarchy. 'The lawful order of society was brought from abroad and imposed on the indigenous people who, until then, lived in a state of chaos' (Baker, this volume). While the story of the role of the Sultan in the founding of their village is accepted by the villagers 'for what it says of the established state order, [it] is by most people regarded as very shallow with respect to its account of their ancestors and ancestral traditions' (Baker, this volume). The ritual value of ancestral traditions is superior to, or at least complementary to, the externally created territorial order. Knowledge of these traditions is essentially indigenous and, although less apparent than historical/archival references to the Sultanate's state order, they are regarded as closer to the truth. To the village Tidorese, the visible matters of government and the

more hidden matters of ritual traditions complement each other in a most dynamic way. In order fully to understand the notion of local sources of identity we need to follow the Tidorese distinction between the two, originally Arab, concepts of *hakekat*, which means 'truth' or 'reality', as opposed to *sareat* which relates to 'government', but also to 'public' and 'visible'. What is true need not necessarily be public and visible, especially in the context of ancestral knowledge.

At this point Baker's paper touches on Valeri's elaboration of the different genres of knowledge with the Huaulu of Seram. But Valeri's purpose is a more general explanation of the fact that there exists an institutionalized diversity of knowledge in every culture. This does not mean, of course, that people know different things, but that there are different recognized genres of knowledge. Moreover, not every genre is classified as having the same value. For example, the Huaulu distinguish shamanistic knowledge, which is considered to be borrowed from outside, from mythical knowledge about the founding of Huaulu. Valeri labels these opposite kinds of knowledge 'peripheral' and 'central' knowledge respectively, on the basis of criteria such as language use, restriction of use by different social categories or ownership, and validity or truth. Like Tidorese ancestral knowledge which is *hakekat*, Huaulu central knowledge is highly valued as being true, simple and restricted knowledge which is imbued with a kind of natural power. Shamanistic knowledge, on the other hand, is highly complex and draws on various sources. The use of foreign languages is also characteristic. Its source of power, according to Valeri, often relates to substances and entities from the outside world that are made visible by means of shamanistic action. Finally, shamanistic performance is deliberately social: it is theatre.

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A.B. LAPIAN

Bacan and the early history of North Maluku

About thirty years ago, when I first entered the field of historical research, my attention was drawn to the area of what is now called North Maluku which, according to the old sources, should be the 'Moluccas proper'. At that time historical knowledge on the area was limited to the first contacts with the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, the Spanish conquest of Gamlamo in the early part of the seventeenth, and the first decades of Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) involvement in the same century. There was also some interest in the British siege and occupation of Ternate in the early nineteenth century, but then the Moluccas were forgotten as a field for historical studies. The only exception was Katoppo's work (Katoppo 1957) on the exploits of Prince Nuku, while the only academic dissertation at my disposal was in the field of linguistics (Van der Veen 1915).

My study at that time focused on the early history of North Maluku – a compilation of sources about the area prior to the first contact with the Iberian visitors. For the present seminar, which is intended to be the closing session of a circuit of meetings on the area, begun in 1979 in Ternate, I think it appropriate to return to the same topic, taking into account the many studies that have been published since then in the form of dissertations and other treatises as well as source (archival) publications.¹

The earliest written reference to Maluku – and indeed to many places in the eastern part of the so-called 'Outer Provinces' of Indonesia – is, of course, the *Nagarakertagama* of Mpu Prapanca composed in 1365. The first editor of this poem, N.J. Krom, identified this toponym with Ternate, an identification which was echoed by many other writers, including Pigeaud (1962). I too was of the opinion that 'Maloko' as mentioned by Prapanca, was synonymous with Ternate, being the leading indigenous power in the area.

However, as one becomes better acquainted with the region, 'sooner or later one arrives at the conclusion that what is meant by Maluku is a kind of union or confederation locally known as Maluku-Kie-Raha, the four mountains of Maluku, consisting of Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo and Bacan. This quad-

¹ In the 1970s important sources came to light especially thanks to H. Jacobs' edition of *A treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544)* in 1971, and *Documenta Malucensia* (1974-84).

ruple unity has been exhaustively dealt with by Van Fraassen (Van Fraassen 1987).

Ternate was certainly in the ascendancy when the first Dutch ships arrived, not least, perhaps, as a consequence of having the Portuguese as a commercial partner during the first half of the sixteenth century. According to Portuguese sources, Ternate had 'won the race' against Tidore, the latter having arrived in Ambon too late to invite the first Portuguese under Francisco Serrao to come to their capital. It was only in the later part of the eighteenth century and the first years of the nineteenth that the Tidorese (under the statesmanship of Nuku) became the dominant 'mountain' in Maluku (Miller 1974).

In the present paper I shall contend that, with regard to the earliest period, one should look at Bacan rather than Ternate as the most important polity in the region. It is a very curious fact that the four elements comprising the unity of Maluku-Kie-Raha belong to two different groups of language families, on the one hand the languages of Ternate, Tidore and Jailolo which are non-Austronesian and, on the other, that of Austronesian Bacan. The fact that they profess to form an inseparable unit, almost to the point of considering themselves as one ethnic group, notwithstanding great differences in language, makes us believe that the convergence of these contrasting elements must have taken place long ago. In other words, the process of political and cultural congress antedates by centuries that of linguistic convergence as propounded by Masinambow (Masinambow 1976).

This political and, to a certain extent, cultural unity is now formalized by myths about a common ancestry. The many versions circulating in Ternate tell of the four sons of Jafar Sadek and his extraterrestrial wife, the eldest of whom became King of Bacan while the youngest, who was born in the heavenly home of his mother and was most favoured by his maternal grandfather, became Ruler of Ternate. This explains the importance of Ternate over the other three 'brothers', but the chronological and, therefore, hierarchical precedence of Bacan is not denied.² That each of the four advances its own superiority in its version of their mythological origin is obvious, but the fact remains that Bacan has been happily integrated as a full member of the confederacy. Among the Tobaru, a tribe in close relationship with Jailolo, it was believed that the eldest son became Ruler of Jailolo. In fact, this Jailolo ancestor appeared much earlier, as the other three were born only *after* their parents returned from Heaven. The hierarchical order as observed in the Raja Ampat Islands, closely connected with the power of the

² *Legende* 1917. Thanks to Van Fraassen myths and legends about North Maluku have been collected and published together in vol. 2 of his Ph.D. thesis, thus facilitating research about the early period. See also vol. 1, ch. II.

Tidorese, is as follows: Tidore (transformed to Kororo), Ternate (Karnaki), Jailolo and Bacan (Bacani). However, another Tidorese version, reported by Coolhaas, maintained the earlier Ternatan hierarchy, an order also noted in the chronicle of Bacan. In the latter only the Bacan King, Mohamad Bakir or Said Husin, is mentioned by name, whereas the Tidorese version also mentions the other names: Said Mohamad Bakir of Bacan, Said Achmad Sani of Jailolo, Said Mohamad Nukil of Tidore and Said Mohamad Nurusafar of Ternate.³

Another myth recorded by the Portuguese around 1544 may refer to a more remote period. The line of the kings of Maluku was said to originate from four serpent eggs which gave birth to three men and a woman. One man became King of Bacan, another King of the Papua, and the third one Ruler of Butung and Banggai, whereas the woman married the King of Loloda.⁴ In this version there were only two North Maluku groups; Bacan (the eldest) and Loloda, representing the peoples speaking North Halmaheran languages, linked here to the former by marriage. There is no mention yet of Ternate, Tidore and Jailolo – perhaps an indication of Loloda's seniority over them and thus lending support to the information given by Padbrugge and Valentijn, namely that Loloda was the first 'kingdom' in the region.⁵

The myth also reveals a wider geographical knowledge among the people of North Maluku: Butung and Banggai to the west and the land of Papua to the east. It not only shows the extent of Maluku's contacts with the outside world before the arrival of the Portuguese but, also, a traditional belief of common origin. Another curious fact is the close link between Butung and Banggai, which are believed to be offspring of a single egg. Further study of Butung and Banggai traditions should examine whether this Maluku myth bears some truth, or whether combining the countries to the southwest into one unit was pure conjecture on the part of the myth-maker. But we are also intrigued by the list of Prapanca which mentioned 'Banggawi' right after Butung⁶ and the question arises as to whether this should be seen not as a mere coincidence but rather as a statement about a closer relationship between the two places. As far as North Maluku is concerned, the statement may indicate an alternative sea route, perhaps an older one than the route via Hoamoal and Hitu, linking the area with the western part of the

³ Fortgens 1928:463; Kamma 1948:537; Coolhaas 1923:476, 502, 493. The Bacan chronicle also mentions a fifth child, a daughter, who went to Banggai. For the relationship between Bacan and Banggai, see below.

⁴ Jacobs 1971:81; Valentijn 1724, I:2, 1724:3; Padbrugge 1682.

⁵ Van Fraassen has elaborated in vol. I, pp. 18-9 of his dissertation on Loloda's position among the four Kings of Maluku.

⁶ Canto 14, stanza 5. Pigeaud 1960, 1962.

Archipelago. In this context the role of Banggai – as yet virgin territory for historical studies – should be taken into consideration as it is located strategically on the sea route from Maluku to the eastern part of Sulawesi. In later years, when Ternate had come to the fore, its *utusan* in Banggai played an important role in contacts with Tobungku and other places of eastern Sulawesi. (Another curiosity is the name 'Gapi' which is said to be an alternative name for Ternate as well as for Banggai.)

A different version is found in the Bacan chronicle about the relationship with Banggai and the land of the Papua. It tells of the seven children of the 'Sri Maha Radja' of Bacan who had settled in Sigarah in the country of Kasi-ruta: five sons and two daughters. After a violent tempest which was accompanied by a big flood (*'hoedjan riboet gelap goelita dan kilap bandjir air pon penoh bener besar, segala kajoe-kajoean pon roeboeh dan segala batoe2 yang besar pon terbongkar dari dalam tanah dan goenoeng2 semoeanja'*), all the children disappeared except the eldest son, Ketjili Tafakam or Sembasulu, who later succeeded his father on the throne (of Bacan) and ruled *'dengan segala kesenangan dan kebadjikan dan sentosa serta sedjahtra'*. And suddenly reports came from the East that two brothers had turned up in the land of Papua, where one became King of Misol and the other King of Waigeu, another brother appeared in the West and became Ruler of Banggai, while the fourth brother ended up in the North to become King of Loloda in the 'Tanah Besar' (of Halmahera). One sister was stranded (*terdampar*) in Seram, the land of Ulisiwa-Ulilima, whereas the other came ashore in the land of Seki where her offspring, Patra Samargalila, in due time became the *sangaji* of Labuha (Coolhaas 1923).

A comparison of the two versions may yield some interesting conclusions.⁷ Buton or Butung has been omitted which is, perhaps, an indication that the close links of Bacan with the former had ceased. Instead the land of the Papua is now differentiated into that of Misol and Waigeu, thus reflecting Bacan's wider knowledge and a more expanded (trade?) relationship with the eastern territories. Another interesting aspect is the link with the non-Austronesian elements through Loloda which, in the later version, is established by way of a 'brother', in contrast with the former myth, which traces it through a female line. Does this mean that at that stage the North Halmaheran group was regarded by Bacan as on an equal footing? At least, the nature of the relationship had changed and Loloda was now seen as a full brother, not as an in-law. It should also be noted that at that stage the names of Jailolo, Ternate and Tidore had not yet come into the picture.

⁷ It should be noted that the first version, as recorded by Galvao in the first half of the sixteenth century, can be regarded as the older one, as the Bacan chronicle was only put down in writing in the nineteenth century.

No less interesting are the two mythological sisters, the eldest of which turned up in Seram while the youngest became linked with the *sangaji* of Labuha on the island of present-day Bacan. The story thus contains some hints of a southward expansion and a gradual shift of the capital (in Kasi-ruta) to the present site. As we shall see below, in later times Bacan laid claim to certain places on the north coast of Seram. Again the female connection is an indication of a different kind of relationship.

An old name for Halmahera is, according to Portuguese sources⁸, 'Batucina de Moro', or 'Batachina'. Moro, of course, refers to the old 'kingdom' in North Halmahera, still in existence in the sixteenth century, where the Portuguese succeeded in converting part of the population to Christianity. Nowadays, however, the name Moro is only preserved in the name of the island of Morotai, whereas the Moro people have been transferred by local tradition to the realm of myths and spirits (Ishige 1980:410-7). The appellation Batucina also occurs in context with Seram which, in Portuguese texts, is sometimes referred to as 'Batucina de Muar'. Thus Van Fraassen could locate the Muar of Prapanca's list within the island of Seram (Van Fraassen 1976:293-305). Another designation of Batucina found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century letters of Portuguese missionaries is connected with the northern part of Sulawesi: 'Batucina' or 'Batachina do Celebe' (Jacobs 1974:416, 526, 538-40, 1984:9).

According to folk etymology, the name 'Batucina' for the island of Halmahera is a reminder of the Chinese who were the first foreigners to discover Maluku and to recognize the benefits of its cloves. But early Chinese sources reported that they obtained cloves from the western part of the Archipelago and it was only in the fifteenth century, perhaps later, that Chinese traders travelled as far as the Moluccas. Moreover, as we have seen, the appellation 'Batucina' was also used in connection with Seram and the northern part of Sulawesi. And, taking into account that the name first appeared in Portuguese texts, it stands to reason that one should pronounce it the Portuguese way, *Bat(a)chin(a)*, which is very close to Bacan, in old texts sometimes written as Batchian. What I want to suggest here is that Batucina might be a corruption, or mispronunciation of Bacan – the oldest power in the region – which must have extended its influence to Seram in the south and the northern peninsula of Sulawesi in the west. 'Batucina de Moro' could then be a representation of the two oldest polities in North Maluku. On the other hand Van Fraassen proposed that the name Batucina should be interpreted as a peninsula as it was always used in connection with a toponym which forms a peninsula. In any case, however, he also agrees that

⁸ The sources are cited by Jacobs 1971:333. The name 'Batachina' also occurs in VOC documents of the seventeenth century, see *Generale Missiven* 1960:314, 406, 495.

the name should not be linked with China.

An important breakthrough in research on Halmahera is the conclusion advanced by Collins that the language of Bacan is a dialect of Malay, closer to those of the Straits of Malaka and along the north coast of Borneo than the Malay dialects of Ternate and Maluku (Collins 1982:79-80). This most interesting discovery not only reveals the extent of the dispersal of Malay in more ancient times, but also shows an early connection with the northern part of the island of Kalimantan.

Another important discovery is the tenth-century inscription found in the Philippines (at Laguna de Bay in Luzon) written in Kawi script with Old Malay as the main language but containing Old Tagalog words. It shows that, at least in the tenth century AD, the world of Malay-speaking peoples extended as far as the Philippines. Perhaps at the time Maluku was already included in this world (Postma 1990).

It might be too early to link the presence of the Bacanese with a migration of Malay-speaking peoples, but it could be an indication of ancient maritime contacts, most probably connected with the clove trade. As late as the eighteenth century, VOC officers reported trade between Berau in East Kalimantan and the northern peninsula of Sulawesi (the 'Batucina do Celebe' of Portuguese texts) (Lelivelt 1744).

In this regard the role of the wandering Bajau should not be overlooked. It is a significant fact that in the western part of the Archipelago sea nomads were closely related with the activities of Malay chiefs and traders, and one wonders whether the existence of Bajau people in the eastern region should not also be considered in this context. Is it a mere coincidence that Bajau are found in Buton, Banggai, Bacan and the north coasts of Sulawesi and Borneo? Further studies of this sea-faring people should throw more light on the questions of early trade connections and the spread of Malay. Because of their extensive travels, the Bajau had to establish contacts with various peoples speaking different languages and they obviously needed a means of communication. It would not, therefore, be an exaggeration to say that the Bajau people were instrumental in the spread of the Malay language to the eastern islands.

In view of the above and taking into consideration previous studies, the following hypothesis is proposed with regard to the early history of North Maluku.

Since time immemorial Halmahera and the adjacent islands have been inhabited by peoples of various cultures speaking different groups of languages. Among the many ethnic groups in the area, it was the people of Bacan who first emerged as a political power, perhaps based on the spice trade, especially cloves. They were then living on the island of Makian from

where, according to local tradition, the clove tree originated. They speak a dialect of Malay, but it is not yet clear whether they represent a migration of Malays from the western half of the Archipelago, or whether they adopted the language in the course of the spice trade. Whatever the reason, the Bacanese did have close relations with the west through Banggai and Buton, to the extent that they profess to come from the same stock symbolized in the form of mythological eggs. (Later, however, the link with Buton weakened.) There was also a maritime route to the north along the coasts of Sulawesi and Kalimantan. The traffic was kept alive by the Bajau who until very recently were known as sea people par excellence.

Bacan also had good relations with the countries towards the east, known collectively as Papua, but in a later period two places stood out: Misol and Waigeu. These good relations are reflected in traditional myths, but also in sixteenth-century documents of Portuguese Jesuits who witnessed visits by Papua chiefs to the court of Bacan. It should be recalled that in 1581-1582 the voyage of Miguel Roxo de Brito to the Raja Ampat Islands, including Misol and Waigeu, started from Bacan, with 'dos caracoas de yndios basallos del Reysuelo de Bachan nuestro amigo'. And as late as 24 December 1610 Adriaen van der Dussen wrote to the Heeren XVII that

'De Regeringe van dit volckryck eylant [Papouwa] bestaet in drie Coninckrycken, namentlyck Weige, Mishol ende Weigamo, zynde niettemin als vassalen van dees coninck [van Bacan], sonder met eenige andere natie in vruntschap te wesen, maer alle hostile proceduyren tegen de selve thoonen, niet willende dese yemant, als dese Batsiannesen handelinge consenteeren. Zij rooven gestadich op de custe van Seram, daerse niet weynich beutten van gout en slaven van daen halen; syn onder 't volck van dees Moluques seer veracht, slecht ende bot in haer handelinge te dryven, leven al te samen sonder wett, behalve haer Coningen en haer kinderen, die door vreese van dees Coninck [van Bacan] haer hebben laeten besnyden en 't moors gelooff aanhangen.'⁹

In the latter quotation the islamization of the Raja Ampat is said to be effected through Bacan, yet another indication of its former influence in the eastern regions. And its involvement on the coast of Seram is, perhaps, also a consequence of this 'Papua connection', especially with Misol. In October 1563 the King of Bacan sailed to Ambon to 'take his people back' to Seram 'que mandou chamar pera lhe dar obediencia'. Lisabata, in north Seram, was said, as late as 1580, to be 'hum lugar del-rey de Bachao' (Jacobs 1974:153, 419).

Bacan, however, was not the sole power in the area of North Maluku. Portuguese sources mention Bacan's claims in Gane, South Halmahera, but in the northern part of the island power was in the hands of the Loloda –

⁹ Boxer and Manguin 1979:175-94; the quotation of Van der Dussen's letter is from Haga 1884, I:24.

the first of the group of North Halmahera language-speaking peoples to emerge as a political unit. It is not known how far Loloda's influence extended. A Jesuit source dated 19 November 1566 called its Ruler 'hum reizinho' (a kinglet), but said at the same time that 'antigamente dizem que foi poderoso'. The final blow came in 1607 or 1608 when a Spanish force destroyed it together with other places in northern Halmahera (Jacobs 1974:188, 1984:62, 118). But at a much earlier stage Loloda had already been superseded by another North Halmaheran ethnic group, Jailolo, which was in turn later absorbed by the youngest of them all, Ternate.

Although today the name Moro has locally become a mythological term, our sources attest that it existed historically in the sixteenth century, located on the northeastern part of Halmahera where Portuguese missionaries had been active, a place that was graced with a visit by the famous Francis Xavier. However, not much is known about its origins, political and social structure, or its internal dynamics (apart from the distinction between Morotia and Morotai, religious persecutions, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes). We are still in the dark about its relations with Loloda and Bacan. Only folk tales tell of 'Batucina de Moro', which stands for the whole island and which we interpret as combining the names of the two ancient kingdoms of the area, Bacan and Moro, representing the Austronesian as well as the non-Austronesian groups. The sources reveal that towards the end of the sixteenth century, after Portuguese power declined, Moro had to succumb to the Muslim power of Jailolo.¹⁰

Jailolo, according to Valentijn, is another old name for the island of Halmahera. This reflects the importance of the kingdom in the eyes of the local people at the time. It is also believed that the former seat of Jailolo was on the island of Motir before it moved to the present site of the same name. Motir's proximity to Makian (Bacan's original seat) was certainly a challenge to the latter, thus suggesting the start of its declining process. But the new emerging forces of Tidore and Ternate had also to be reckoned with, and sooner or later a struggle for hegemony of the Moluccas ensued which ended in a kind of stalemate, and the four contenders came together to conclude a peace, called by Valentijn the 'Treaty of Motir'. At this stage Bacan must have been pushed into a secondary position, because on this occasion Jailolo had the lead. The occasion also, perhaps, marked the birth of the concept of Maluku-Kie-Raha: an 'equilibrium' of the four mountains off the western coast of Halmahera, consisting of, from south to north, Makian/Bacan, Motir/Jailolo, Tidore and Ternate.

¹⁰ Moro certainly deserves further research, including archaeological studies. Perhaps the remains of stone constructions and petroglyphs as observed by J. Platenkamp in the area of Toledo could throw more light on the ancient history of Halmahera.

Was it at this stage too that Bacan had to move southward, first to Kasiruta, and later to settle finally on the present island? The two different languages spoken in East and West Makian respectively could be explained by this (political) southward movement of peoples speaking North Halmaheran languages. We also know that Jailolo moved to the mainland, perhaps as a consequence of the upsurge of both Ternate and Tidore. But centuries later, around 1797, a long time after Jailolo had ceased to exist, having been incorporated into Ternate, when Nuku became Sultan of Tidore and wanted to restore the balance of the four mountains by creating a Raja of Jailolo, he chose for the latter post Mohammad Arif Bila, a former *sangaji* from Makian who could have been a descendant of the old line of Jailolo rulers.¹¹

With the rise of Ternate and Tidore we enter more solid historical territory. If previous developments are difficult to place in correct chronological context (the emergence of Malay-speaking Bacan could, perhaps, be considered a development in the wake of the expansion of the spice trade in Sriwijaya times), the growth of these two newcomers was a consequence of the flourishing of maritime contacts throughout Southeast Asia in the fifteenth century, the so-called 'Age of Commerce' proposed by Anthony Reid (Reid 1988). In this period the international character of trade relations expanded in scope and intensity, while Islamic proselytizing produced more fruitful results than in previous centuries. It was also a time when Chinese fleets went overseas to exact tribute and to show the world that it had become a maritime power.

New trade centres sprang up along the north coast of Java and, indeed, along the spice route from the eastern part of the Archipelago to the West, which also became centres of political and religious authority. Manguin has shown that this new impetus, occasioned by contacts with the outside world, has been 'recorded' in local folklore about the arrival of a foreign hero (prince, trader, or both) called Dampu Awang, Pu Awang, Mpu Hwang, etc., who married a daughter of the local ruler.¹² He usually came with a fully laden ship (*jung sarat*) which in some tales happened to be stranded (*kapal kandas*) in the same locality, bringing riches and prosperity to the people. The design of a fully laden junk or a stranded ship, often intricately woven or batik-painted in ceremonial cloths, have now become symbols of good fortune and prosperity.

The story of Jafar Sadek prevalent in North Maluku tales of its early

¹¹ For more information on this new Raja Jailolo, see Leirissa 1990: ch. VI and VII.

¹² In a discussion with Manguin (see Manguin 1987) it was suggested that the theme of a *jung sarat* and *kapal kandas* could probably be seen as part of an old cargo cult.

history should also be seen in the context of this tradition about a stranded ship from abroad laden with cargo, marking the beginning of a flourishing trade based on its clove production. Although the principle of Maluku-Kie-Raha was upheld, in actual fact only Ternate and Tidore prospered during this new era of commercial resurgence. In the sixteenth century Ternate, where the Portuguese and a century later the Dutch too had their headquarters, evidently took the lead. A new lingua franca developed – a Malay dialect but strongly influenced by Ternate and spiced with Iberian and Dutch terminology.

Meanwhile Jailolo was subdued by Ternate and its territory was incorporated into the latter kingdom. Bacan survived, but its influence in Banggai, Sulawesi, Seram and South Halmahera (Gane) was replaced by that of Ternate; whereas the eastern territories, such as the northern coast of East Seram and Raja Ampat, were drawn into the sphere of Tidore. There were unsuccessful attempts by Bacan to regain some lost villages in northern Seram, reflected in Portuguese and Dutch sources on territorial claims by the king of Bacan. The conversion of a Bacanese king to Christianity in 1557 could probably also be seen in this light – as an effort to restore its old supremacy in Maluku with the help of the Portuguese. He took the name of Dom Joao, but returned to the Muslim faith under pressure from Ternate. Portuguese sources reported that he was killed by King Baabullah of Ternate in 1577. His son, baptized Dom Henrique, became a fervent Muslim but sided with the Portuguese against Ternate – another indication that Bacan was not yet willing to accept its position as a minor kingdom.¹³

But in 1682 most of its people had moved away and Bacan had not enough manpower 'als die niet wel een Correcorre en kan mannen'. The king had not much to do and, therefore 'maakt zijn meeste huijsraat selfs, zijn vaertuijgen groot en kleijn, netten en meer andere dingen, waer mede den meesten tijt door brengt, naedemael zijn bekrompen staat [...] hem niet veel ander werck van Rijxsaken en verschaft' (Padbrugge 1682:46).

¹³ Jacobs 1974-84. The baptism of Dom Joao is found in vol. I:233; his re-conversion to Islam in I:690; his death by the king of Ternate in II:56. His son's actions against Christian Bacanese are mentioned in II:143, 160; whereas his pro-Portuguese attitude is found in II:116.

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CH.F. VAN FRAASSEN

Ternate and its dependencies

When we read, in Valentijn's description of the Moluccas (Valentijn 1724, I, 2:27-97),¹ about all the islands and areas belonging to the realm of Ternate at the end of the seventeenth century, a representation that has never been seriously criticized by later writers and Dutch colonial authorities, the question arises how could a small island like Ternate, with only a small number of inhabitants (until the beginning of the twentieth century probably never more than 10,000; Van Fraassen 1987, I:88-90) be the centre of such a vast empire. To what extent was the supremacy of Ternate over the many islands and regions, which in literature and in colonial terminology are called dependencies of Ternate, only pretension and to what extent was it reality? To what extent was the empire fiction and to what extent was it reality? And as far as the Ternatan rule over its dependencies was fiction, what then was the importance of that fiction? These are the questions that are briefly addressed in this paper.

Ternate's dependencies

The first two questions that arise are: which islands and which regions have belonged to the dependencies of Ternate and how did these become dependent to Ternate? We will address the last question first.

First of all we can conclude from various historical sources that up to and including the seventeenth century, with or without the help of the Portuguese or Dutch, in a number of armed conflicts with Tidore, Jailolo and possibly also Bacan, Ternate did take possession of a number of places, regions and islands that were important for Ternate amongst others for the supply of food. Places taken included the Sula islands, parts of the west coast of Halmahera and the Moro area (Northeast Halmahera and Morotai). Ternate and Tidore also greatly exerted themselves to add to the Crown, or at least to keep for the Crown, islands that produced the highly valued cloves, like Moti and Makian.

¹ Compare Father Marta's report (circa 1591) to the governor of the Philippines, in which he stated that 72 islands were reckoned to belong to the realm of Sultan Babullah (Tiele 1881:161-2).

As to the acquisition of dependencies by Ternate, we should not think of this in terms of total military submission and complete control over the subject areas, especially if these areas were not of great importance for the supply of food and for the revenues of the court of Ternate. The victory of Ternate over local rulers of islands far from Ternate can in many cases be best characterized as a successful raid for plunder. Nevertheless, lasting claims to sovereignty over the areas involved were based on such successful raids.

Warriors from areas closely connected with Ternate (for example the Sula Islands) played an important part in these military expeditions by which the dependencies were won. A region that ranked as subordinate to a dependency of Ternate was also regarded as an (indirect) dependency of Ternate.

The extension of Ternatan authority over neighbouring islands and regions was not always a matter of conquest and pure exercise of power. Another very important factor in this connection was that in the local trade with its surrounding areas Ternate was clearly superior to its trading partners, due to its rather extensive contacts with the Javanese, Malays and other foreigners. Because of its contacts with western parts of the Indonesian Archipelago resulting from the clove trade, in relation to the adjacent regions that did not cultivate cloves, Ternate was able to display a higher level of prosperity, with much more pomp and circumstance, and a higher – at least at that time a 'more modern' – cultural and political development. It was probably not too difficult for Ternate to overawe neighbouring islands with all the goods attained and all the knowledge derived from external contacts. This may have induced the inhabitants of neighbouring regions to acknowledge the superiority and authority of Ternate by a demonstration of respect and deference (*hormat*) in their relations, without having been made to do so by force of arms (see also Van Fraassen 1987, I:32).

It is also a fact that Ternate obtained influence in certain regions by intervening in internal conflicts (for example at Luhu, Hoamoal; Rumphius 1910, I:17), or by offering certain communities protection against hostile neighbours. Sometimes, recognizing its widely accepted role as regional superpower and arbiter, Ternate was called upon by a hard-pressed party in despair; in 1618 the Bandanese, at war with the Dutch, called in the aid of *kimalaha* Sabadin, the governor of the Sultan of Ternate at Luhu, in order to offer the islands of Ai and Run to the Sultan of Ternate as the patron and protector of their religion (Tiele 1886:314).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries an important way for Ternate to gain influence in a great number of islands and regions was to act as propagator of Islam and as the champion of all Muslims waging war against competing Christian Portuguese and Spaniards. Most prominently Sultan Hairun (1535-1570) and his son Babullah acted this part, especially in North

Sulawesi and adjacent islands and in the Ambon area. The Portuguese and Spaniards did not have the manpower to counter with vigour Ternate's Islamic mission.

Apart from this, a number of dependencies were also obtained by Ternate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by conquest together with a European power, such as with the Portuguese (e.g. Jailolo in 1551) or with the Dutch (Siau in 1677) (Van Fraassen 1987, I:40; Padbrugge 1867).

Actually dependent to Ternate (by acknowledgement, in some way, of the supreme authority of Ternate), temporarily or long-term, and sometimes only partly, in the period 1500-1900, were: North Halmahera, Morotai, Makian, Moti, the islands of Kayoa, Gaäne, Meau, Tafure, the Sula Islands, Banggai, Tobuku, Tomori, some of the Buton Islands, Gorontalo-Limbotto, Manado, Bolaang-Mongondow, Siau, Tagulandang, Sangihe, some of the coastal areas of Seram, Hoamoal, Kelang, Manipa, Boano, Buru and Ambelau.

Dependencies claimed by Ternate

The total area that was actually dependent to Ternate is smaller than the territory claimed; the claims to supremacy over dependencies were often based more on mythologically-tinged stories than on historical fact.

In Ternate the supremacy over its dependencies was ascribed to conquests by former rulers (Babullah amongst others) and their *kapita laut* (for example *kapita laut* Ali) who extorted tribute and homage from the defeated islands and areas. The legitimacy of the supremacy was based on these stories of conquests and on stories about the recognition by the population involved of Ternate's superiority and supremacy by presentation of tribute, by bringing the *sembah* to the Ruler (see Naidah 1878). Claims to supremacy were also based on pure mythology, as in the case of Hitu which, according to legend, was to be counted as the tenth *soa* of Ternate's Soa Sio (Valentijn 1724:97).

Recognition of a certain amount of authority of the Sultan by communities supposed to be dependent on Ternate would be shown by the ostentatious receiving in state, with a great show of respect, of his representative, who would often bring a letter from the Sultan and/or some other visible sign, like his flag. Communities who were inclined to treat the much respected Ternatans as friends and who received the Sultan's representatives and his tokens with a show of respect were looked upon as dependencies by the Ternatans, although more often than not these communities knew no kind of permanent Ternatan rule. (See Tiele and Heeres 1886:206-9, 334, 1890:104-5; *Daghregister* 1679:402; Valentijn 1724:336-7.)

In the eyes of the Ternatans the frontiers of their realm extended to the

outer limits of their sphere of influence; and that sphere of influence extended to the furthest points ever reached by Ternatan vessels. From the Ternatan point of view this meant that the frontiers of the realm extended from Moro, via the south coast of Mindanao to North Sulawesi and adjacent islands; and from there along the east coast of Sulawesi to Buton and to Northeast Flores, Solor, the Banda Islands, the Ambonese Islands (Hoamoal and adjacent islands, part of Seram, Ambon-Lease), Buru and Ambelau. According to Valentijn, who based himself on Moluccan sources, in the reign of Sultan Babullah (1570-1583), during which the realm was reportedly at its greatest, the realm of Ternate included 72 islands (Valentijn 1724:208).

It should of course be noted that not all areas within this sphere of influence were of equal importance to Ternate and that Ternate was inclined to claim most emphatically those areas of greatest economic importance, which happened also to be the areas where Islam and its rival Christianity found acceptance. Thus the Ambonese Islands, once the cultivation of cloves had reached there, became a bone of contention between the Ternatans on the one side and the Portuguese, and later the Dutch, on the other.

Dependencies ascribed to Ternate

The question of whether certain areas can or cannot be considered as dependencies of Ternate, is dependent not only on historical facts about Ternate's relations with the regions involved and on the validity of its claims to these areas, but also on the recognition of these claims by other parties and the possible ascribing of rights to Ternate by others. In other words, the question of whether a certain island or a certain region could be counted as a Ternatan dependency, was also dependent on how far the Ternatan claims of supremacy and domination were in any way acknowledged by outsiders.

While the Portuguese and later the Dutch considered themselves to be allies and overlords of Ternate, they were not interested in denying Ternate's overlordship of other regions, which they themselves would have liked to rule but were unable to control effectively.

A strategy which opened up prospects, at least in the long term, of ruling in those regions where they could not yet exercise effective control, was to acknowledge the claims of Ternate to those regions. As dependencies of Ternate, itself dependent on the Portuguese or the VOC, these regions indirectly became dependencies of the Portuguese or the VOC, at least in the eyes of the Europeans who interpreted all these relations in European feudal terms. Naturally this did not alter the fact that where the Europeans wished and

were able to exercise effective rule, they were inclined to deny the authority of Ternate. This was the case, for example, on the islands of Ambon-Lease.

The VOC attached great importance to the formal and juridical recognition of Ternate's claims to certain regions, so that, according to the European legal notions of the time, the VOC was the indirect overlord over these regions and as such thought to have the right to deny access to these regions to others – either Asiatic powers like Makassar or Europeans like the Spaniards from Manila. As a consequence the VOC was willing to support with armed force the claims of Ternate, as in Siau in 1677.² In such a case Ternate's claims became the juridical cloak for the power politics of the VOC. One consequence of this desire to give a legal basis to power politics was that the VOC, on historically dubious grounds, in the contract of Bungaya,³ added to Ternate's realm a number of regions it wished to take from the realm of Makassar after its defeat in 1667, on the pretext that these regions had been dependencies of Ternate previously misappropriated by Makassar. In this way, for example, the island of Salayar, never in fact subject to Ternate, was formally added to the Ternatan realm. Since then the VOC governor at Makassar did rule *de facto* over Salayar in the name of the Sultan of Ternate, amongst others, because the chiefs of Salayar did not recognize Ternate's claims and did not wish to have to do anything with the Ternatans, who wanted them to pay heavy tribute.⁴

Such situations apart, the Ternatan claims to its dependencies were not always wholeheartedly supported by the Portuguese and the Dutch, because the interests of Ternate and those of the Europeans established on Ternate did not always run parallel. Thus the Portuguese tried to counteract the influence of Ternate in the Moro area and in Manado, because the people there appeared to be more in sympathy with Christianity than with Islam and to prefer Portuguese rule to that of the Ternatans (Tiele 1879:52-3, 1880:418-9; Wessels 1935:371-2). Later, on several occasions when the population of the dependencies was too badly treated, the Dutch agreed to the requests of local chiefs to set them free from the yoke of Ternate and to allow them to be under the direct authority of the VOC governor on Ternate (for instance Gorontalo-Limbotto in 1677 (Padtbrugge 1867:100, 150-8, 173; *Daghregister* 1674:236-7) and Makian in 1744 (Lelivelt, *Memorie* 1744:62-3, 66-7)). In the course of time, however, these dependencies were returned to Ternate, the Ternatans having been pressed to promise to behave better in future.

² For the conquest of Siau, an ally of the Spaniards, by the VOC in alliance with and in the name of the Sultan of Ternate, see Padtbrugge 1867.

³ Published in *Corpus Diplomaticum* 1931:370-80.

⁴ For Salayar as a dependency of Ternate, see *Daghregister* 1668-69:43, 1672:42-5, 1674:58, 1675:213, 295-6, 1676:347-8, 1678:389; Van Dam 1931:58.

In the nineteenth century Ternate's claims to its dependencies, on the basis of bilateral contracts formally recognized by the Dutch, had reluctantly to be supported with force more than once by the Dutch, because the populace in the dependencies had risen in revolt against the abuses of Ternate. In these cases the Dutch colonial government was obliged to support the restoration of Ternatan authority (Van Fraassen 1987, I:58). The colonial government recognized that the local population was right to revolt against the arbitrary burdens imposed by Ternate but, until the beginning of the twentieth century, thought it beyond its power to maintain direct rule everywhere, particularly in areas with bad economic prospects. At the same time it was an established policy that one should try to prevent other European powers from getting a foothold in these areas by any means. By recognizing Ternate and Tidore over their (claimed and ascribed) dependencies (in the case of Tidore mainly the Raja Ampat Islands and the adjacent coast of West Irian) the Dutch colonial government hoped to avoid giving other European powers any legal grounds for getting a foothold in the eastern parts of the Indonesian Archipelago.

Relations between Ternate and its dependencies

Ternate was not just a power centre that, with or without the help of the Portuguese and the Dutch, tried to obtain and to exploit dependencies. It was also a political and cultural centre that in terms of civilization was superior to most of its neighbouring communities and because of this Ternate could claim a position superior to most of its neighbours.⁵ Ternate was the centre towards which less-developed regions oriented themselves. From Ternate Islam spread to numerous other islands. In its role as cultural and political centre Ternate acted not only as a regional superpower that tried to extract goods and manpower from the surrounding regions, but also as the patron of its protectorates.

Ternate certainly did not always succeed in exercising permanent control over its dependencies in terms of orderly rule. However, where some kind of regular rule was effected, Ternate always left the local socio-political organization intact, maintaining the local chiefs in their functions. Over and above these local chiefs the Ternatan Sultan appointed someone from outside the region, usually a Ternatan, as his representative, in other words as a governor. This governor had the task of promoting there the interests of Ternate and, most prominently, the interests of the Sultan himself. The governor – called *utusan*, *salahakan* (in the Sula Islands) or *kimalaha* (in

⁵ Ternatans used to refer to the 'pagan' people of Halmahera, the Sula islands and Sulawesi as Halefuru (Malay: Alifuru; lit. 'savages'), i.e. the uncivilized people of the interior.

Hoamoal) – was assisted by some lower-ranking servants of the Sultan, such as a secretary or scribe and some soldiers or constables. So, there was a kind of dual rule and the Sultan's representative, together with his following, there to promote the Sultan's interests, had to be sustained by the local population and also had to be provided with the tribute owed to the Sultan.

The Sultan then had the problem of keeping control over his representative, who was in most cases in control of local trade, taking tolls etc. It was inevitable that this representative should promote first of all his own interests. But in this regard one should bear in mind that the dual rule was not intended to exercise a tight administrative and political control over the dependencies; rather the intention was that the dependencies, as conquered countries, should produce as much as possible for the court on Ternate. The Sultan was satisfied when the dependencies contributed as much as possible to the costs of the court and to the greatness and glory of Ternate; the Sultan was not particularly concerned if his governors, in his name, exploited the local population primarily for their own benefit, as long as the court was not wronged. When local chiefs did complain directly to the Sultan about his governor, the governor concerned could always tell a different story about the local chiefs and in many cases could then win the Sultan's heart by delivering an extra tribute; in most cases this was sufficient to make the Sultan deaf to the complaints of the local chiefs.

The population of the dependencies not only had to deliver tribute and taxes to Ternate in the form of goods; people from the dependencies also had to come to Ternate to provide services, for example at the court, in the building of strongholds, or serving in the fleet. The dependencies were a reservoir of labour, manpower and warriors. By the nineteenth century the tribute the dependencies had to present to Ternate was formally established by tradition. From nineteenth-century literature (Cornets de Groot van Kraaijenburg 1858:46-8, 55-61) for various dependencies detailed reports are known about the deliveries every year to be presented to the court. But besides these deliveries, more or less established by tradition, one had also, as already indicated, to provide the livelihood for the Sultan's governor and his following; and more often than not the governor had many extra demands, not regulated by tradition. The Sultan also had the right to buy locally produced goods at prices fixed by tradition, of course always below the market prices. Furthermore many princes and lower-ranking members of the Royal House of Ternate often came to the dependencies, not to fulfil any kind of official function, but just in search of a better and easier life than was possible for them on Ternate. On account of their royal descent they often succeeded in appealing to the local population to provide them with land, to plant the land with crops and trees and to look after the garden for a minimum of compensation. These members of the Royal House, who did

not manage to eat at the Royal Table at Ternate, yet managed to impress sufficiently to get all kinds of goods and services in the dependencies for the minimum of compensation in return, were a real burden to the local population.

The fact that, with the silent approval of the court, the population in the dependencies was often squeezed so unreasonably, not infrequently resulted in the population rising in revolt against the authority of Ternate and trying to ally themselves with the Portuguese and later the Dutch. Resistance against the abuses of Ternate and refusal to deliver goods and services any longer, usually meant that Ternate would – when it happened to be in a position to do so, with the assistance of warriors and boats recruited from the Sula Islands, from Halmahera and from Makian – mount a punitive expedition that plundered and murdered. A part of the spoils was reserved for the court, while the rest was divided amongst the participants of the expedition. The Dutch were often forced by contract to support the Ternatans in these expeditions, but they at the same time tried to induce the Ternatans to mitigate their behaviour in these punitive expeditions and to curtail their abuses as much as possible.

While on the one hand the dependencies were often viewed and treated by Ternate as conquered provinces, on the other hand Ternate was seldom capable of exercising effective control and real authority over them. For instance in the eighteenth century Ternate was unable to prevent all sorts of piracy from East Halmahera and from Sula-Banggai. Additionally, the local governors of the Sultan often behaved as independent petty rulers, knowing very well that their Lord the Sultan was at a safe distance.

Its limited power resources made it impossible for Ternate effectively to control, rule and exploit, by the exercise of power alone, the widely dispersed subject areas. So, the relation between Ternate and its dependencies was certainly not based purely on the exercise of power. As indicated at the beginning of this section, Ternate was also a prestigious political and cultural centre towards which less-developed regions oriented themselves.

Besides the appointing of governors, an important device used by Ternate to establish lasting ties with its dependencies was to transform the local chiefs as far as possible into agents of the authority of Ternate. They would be appointed with a formal ceremony of installation held, for the most prominent chiefs, at the court of Ternate, and would be provided with signs of dignity, such as a special dress. The local chiefs would thus derive part of their legitimacy and authority from the central authority at Ternate. Chiefs took pride in being appointed by the Sultan and in the signs of dignity received from him, something of the power and the glory of the court of Ternate radiating to them. They were often willing to become Muslims, if they were not already, for this reason.

Relations between Ternate and the chiefs in the dependencies were often strengthened by the policy of the Sultans to marry daughters (real or classificatory) of these chiefs. On the one hand the Sultan's request for a daughter could not be refused and placed a great burden on the local chief; the court had to be provided with the livelihood of the daughter, who was, so to speak, a hostage at the court who had to be supported by her own kin. On the other hand, being 'bridegivers' to the Sultan was a great honour to her kin that, at least in theory, gave access to the prestigious court, the centre of power and culture (Van Fraassen 1987, I:158-9).

By means of the political, economic and cultural relations with Ternate the many communities in the dependencies were pulled from relative isolation and became part of a wider universe. So against the disadvantages of being part of the realm of Ternate (one was treated as a conquered province) there were also non-material advantages and sometimes, when taking part in Ternatan punitive expeditions and raids, even material advantages such as a share in the spoils.

Conclusion

The question posed at the beginning of this paper was how could a small island like Ternate be the centre of a vast empire, and to what extent was that empire fiction or reality? In other words, how true was the claim that Ternate ruled 72 islands? Was it mere boasting on the part of Ternate for its own glory? Or was Ternate at the time of Sultan Babullah really the centre of a vast empire?

In the first three sections we have seen that Ternate's claim to be the centre of a vast realm was certainly not just fiction. With the assistance of auxiliaries from the Sula Islands, Halmahera and Makian, Ternate did carry out raids and punitive expeditions, in which various communities, sometimes violently, encountered the power of Ternate and learnt that its claims could at times be supported by force of arms. The Portuguese and Dutch often had an interest in the recognition of Ternate's claims and supported its military expeditions accordingly.

However, Ternate's position as a cultural centre towards which neighbouring societies oriented themselves was probably not based solely on the pure force of arms. Perhaps the formal recognition of the authority and overlordship of Ternate by the presenting of homage and tribute was in part a kind of insurance against Ternatan raids. But another factor of importance in this formal recognition was possibly that local chiefs, by putting themselves under the overlordship of a mighty power, thought they could afford to cut up rough against less-civilized subjects and neighbours. By establishing relations with Ternate one could hope to share in the glory and

power of the centre, with all possibilities inherent to it.

We may conclude that the influence of Ternate was widely spread and that it covered a vast area, from the south fringe of the Philippines via East Sulawesi to islands deep in the Banda Sea. Within the realm of Ternate no clear distinction can be made between the real dependencies and those regions that only fell within its (cultural) sphere of influence. For all those regions that acknowledged in one way or another the court of Ternate and its direct surroundings as the superior political and cultural centre, various cultural elements borrowed from Ternate became integrated in the local cultures. The Sultanate in various respects acted as a cultural and political example towards which many communities oriented themselves and to which they reacted. Furthermore for many regions Ternate was the link that connected the local community with the faraway outer world.

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JAMES N. BAKER

Ancestral traditions and state categories in Tidorese village society

This essay considers the significance of the traditional state in modern-day village society in Tidore. More specifically, it is concerned with the issue of why descent categories continue to be employed despite the fact that the administrative organization that made use of these categories has long been abandoned. The villagers I will be discussing derive little of economic or political worth from the exclusive ancestries of the patrilineal descent categories by which they continue to identify themselves. Trying to understand motivations behind the continued use of these categories will lead us to consider the historical and structural form of the traditional state along with the local ancestral traditions that persist in a dynamic relation to traditional state organization.

Historical categories of the state

Categories known as *soa* constitute the administrative and ceremonially celebrated order of the traditional state. The term *soa* is one that has various usages in Tidorese. Prepositionally, in the form of *ma soa*, it means 'between'. In its uses as a substantive noun the term invokes the related notion of 'division'. In one of these uses, *soa* denotes a territorial division, sometimes as a near synonym of the Indonesian expression *kampung* (a section of a village or town). When the term is used to refer to the formal divisions of the state, however, the divided entities are patrilineal descent categories. While these latter two usages can in most cases be distinguished (that is, one can tell whether territory or descent is at issue), there is, nevertheless, a tension indicated by these different criteria of meaning that should not be removed in our definitions. Descent and territory are usually mutually implied when people speak of *soa*, and at times there is an ambiguity about which of these is primarily meant.

The issue is a familiar one in studies of descent systems. We can make some sense of it for the Tidorese case by noting that *soa* categories are at once structural and historical constructions. Structurally they are categories

extended by the formal recursive operations of patrilineal descent. As such, they are ahistorical, for the continuity of the categories is understood to be the result of a completely regular application of a principle that is blind to any intervening contingent events. *Soa* categories, in this way, involve what I will refer to as a pure principle of extension. Insofar as people in Tidore invoke this principle as a way to retrospectively strip away, or discount, all that has come into association with, but does not truly belong to, ancestrally derived identities, they employ what we can think of as an 'essentialist' view of their social identities. But the *soa* are also historical constructions because the distinctive attributes by which they continue to be recognized are given to them in contingent events of a recounted past. Territory is one type of historically acquired attribute by which *soa* are recognized as substantive political divisions. It can be argued that this historical view of *soa* categories goes hand-in-hand with the structural view. By a principle of descent, that which has been given valid recognition in historical events continues to be extended (or transferred) without event to succeeding generations. As will be indicated below, there is something to this way of looking at it, at least when considering the *soa* categories themselves. However, when we add consideration of ancestral traditions, which are in principle also extended patrilineally, we find the situation more complex and dynamic than the above formulation suggests.

Many of the differentiating, historically acquired attributes of *soa* were of a functional kind in the economic, political and ritual organization of the traditional state. Thus, for example, *soa* of Gurabati were associated with sago production, *soa* of the neighbouring island of Mare were responsible for making clay pots, *Soa Kalaodi* provided tax collectors, *soa* of Kolano-fangare held control of the military, *Soa Ngare* consisted of servants in the Sultan's palace. As with the association between *soa* categories and territory, in practice there was not necessarily a strict match between descent affiliation and associated economic or political function. For ritual functions, however, especially for the ceremonial processions that served to display the order of the state, there was a more strict adherence to prescribed duties of the historically differentiated descent lines.

The most basic acquired attributes of the *soa* are the very names and associated titles by which they are known. The titles are those of the *soa* heads who together comprise the ministers (*bobato*) of the traditional state government. The most common titles are *gimalaha*, *fomanyira* (or more fully, *ngofamanyira*), and *sangaji*. In a very simple and direct way, the historically created order of the state continues to be reaffirmed in the rote recitation of *soa* names and titles. Above the level of the founding ancestor, descent-line segmentation is not an operative principle for structuring the categories (with a few limited exceptions). There is instead an historically

given placement of *soa* into more inclusive groupings of various levels, sometimes referred to as *wilaya* (Indonesian for 'region' or 'district').

Giving the actual ordering of the *soa* of the Tidorese state is not necessary here. I want only to draw attention to the fact that while probably no one can, from oral knowledge, list all of the *soa*, everyone knows, besides their own *soa*, the grouping to which their *soa* belongs. And many people can recite the titles and names of the *soa* within these groupings. The *soa* names are usually listed in a set order, each preceded by the title of the minister. There is practically absolute consistency when this is done. This may not seem very striking. After all, these oral performances reflect, and can be checked against, written sources of knowledge about the Tidorese state. However, considering how this contrasts with other forms of oral knowledge, especially the hidden knowledge of ancestral traditions, this is precisely what needs to be emphasized: the ordering of *soa* categories belongs to a realm of public, or revealed, knowledge.¹ This idea will be picked up again below.

Reciting *soa* names and titles supports the understanding of the state as an articulation of established categories. The interest can readily shift, however, to a more explicitly historical one. Lying behind the overtly known ordering of the *soa* categories is the history of how the various *soa* came into being as recognized social categories. An essential part of any fuller account of the *soa* would have to include a recounting of the inaugurating events that established or validated them as entities belonging to the recognized order of the state. We can refer to this as historical knowledge because it specifies the events by which the *soa* became connected to the universal, Islamically centred, history to which the Moluccan states are themselves connected.

To understand this, it is important to again separate, on the one hand, the ahistorical principle of patrilineal descent that extends links of identity between past and present without moment and, on the other, the historically received attributes that give differential value to descent lines and thereby mark them as distinctive. On the first count, having a *soa* identity means having necessarily, regardless of what people happen to know, an exclusive ancestry that leads indefinitely back in time. On the second count, it means having received things of recognized value (property in its broadest sense) at decisive points in this ancestry. Most decisive for the *soa* are the recollected events in which attributes are first received from the state. To the extent that *soa* are recognized only as state categories, these events determine apical ancestries, i.e., the genealogical points of origin for the *soa* as distinctive categories.

¹ See Baker (1993) for a fuller discussion of the practice of reciting names.

Historical knowledge of this sort, because it deals with the critical transitions between 'prehistorical'² and historical identities, is always guarded knowledge in Tidore. From the few stories and parts of stories I heard, I would venture to make the following generalizations. The reigning Sultan is the primary agent of change, bringing the various *soa* into recognition by way of conferring actions and pronouncements. Usually most important in what the Sultan initially gives in this way to the founding ancestor (or ancestors) is a *bobato* (minister) title along with the *soa* name that will continue to be borne by all of the founder's patrilineal descendants.

Consider, for example, the dominant *soa* in the village of Jai, Soa Tobaru. This *soa* is grouped with seven others that together comprise the administrative 'district' of Gamtofkange ('the eight villages'). As the story was told to me outside of Jai (inside Jai I received a less detailed version that did not specify prehistorical origins), the founders of the village were two men from the ethnic group of Tobaru in Halmahera who had left their homeland. They settled in the area of present-day Jai at different elevations and married two local women after agreeing to become Muslims. The story goes that the Sultan called out to them: 'Fonyira Tobaru above, Fonyira Tobaru below', and the two replied with expressions of obeisance. This I take to be a recounting of the precise event that officially marked this group's inclusion in the order of the state.³

The dominant descent line of the village of Kalaodi became a part of the state order in what appears to be a less direct fashion, though we can still discern, in the stories told, the decisive historical events that mark its inclusion. The founder, Tubulowone, was the commander (*kapita*) of the Ternatan navy. After having helped the Tidorese prince, Bala Dero, to escape from captivity in Ternate, Tubulowone fled to Tidore to seek refuge. Bala Dero became the new Sultan of Tidore (Sultan Saefuddin), and when he later received Tubulowone to offer him assistance he referred to the latter as his 'dear friend' (*bobapo nyinga laha*). The Sultan gave Tubulowone land in the interior and offered to restore to him the title of *kapita*. Tubulowone, however, preferred not to take the title because he did not

² I will continue to use the expression 'prehistory' without the hedging quotation marks. While it does not translate any Tidorese expression, it is useful, in a preliminary fashion at least, for getting across the notion that there is more to the past than what is comprehended in 'history' (*sejarah*). When people in Tidore speak of 'remembering ancestors' (*sonyinga gosimo*) or of abiding by what 'they from before' (*ona yuke*) have said and done, the reference tends to be to a more distant, 'higher up' (*gau ine*), ancestral past. The significance I am attributing to this will become clear in the present discussion.

³ Subsequently, the one Soa Tobaru had representing it a single *fonyira*. There are actually three descent lines, each maintaining its distinctiveness. The third line, I was told in Jai, is that of another ancestor whose place of origin was not told to me. The title of *fonyira* alternates between these three lines.

wish to return to a life of warfare. The Sultan therefore exempted Tubulowone from any of the customary obligations usually specified for titled *soa* (for example ceremonial duties and dress).

Today, among descendants of Tubulowone, the phrase 'dear friend' is held as an attribute validating their inclusion in the state order. Also, their *exemption* from stately custom – that is the very informality of their inclusion – is held to be a distinctive mark of the historical character of their descent line. As for their *soa* identity, placing them more securely in the administrative and ceremonial order of the state, this was received in subsequent generations through a marriage with a woman of the already established *soa* of Kalaodi in the district of Soa Sio. While a *soa* name could be acquired in this way, it could not merge what was already historically distinct. Thus, the receiving descent line (Tubulowone's) was distinguished as 'Landward Kalaodi' (*Kalaodi la Isa*), leaving the original 'Seaward Kalaodi' (*Kalaodi la Ho*) not only with its own historical beginnings, but also the titled representative, the *gimalaha*. Landward Kalaodi, then, has an associated phrase rather than title and, in a sense, only a borrowed *soa* name (that usually refers to the descent line only indirectly, by association with the particular village that has taken this name). These are, nevertheless, attributes that mark its inclusion in the traditional state.

In both of these examples, the decisive historical events are ones in which transfers of recognition, or rather, properties conferring recognition, occur. They proceed from an agent of the state already having properties of recognition to a founding ancestor in a position of receiving recognition. The acts of transfer have the effect of bringing the founding ancestors, and by extension their descendants, into a universal historical order. This is so because the transfers that confer recognition extend further back through the successional line of Tidore's sultans. This line originates with the father of the first rulers (*kolano*) of the four Moluccan states, thus making Tidore a part of a broader Moluccan history. In making Tidore a part of the universal history of Islam, the line of transfers extends further back than this. The widely known story of state origins has it that an Arab immigrant, Jafar Sadek, was the father of the first rulers of the Moluccan states. Jafar Sadek in turn is understood to be a descendant and successor of the Prophet Muhammad.⁴

⁴ Although no one in Tidore ever identified him as such, it is clear from the line of succession known by some within the court that the founder whom they call Jafar Sadek is Jafar al Sadik, the sixth Shiite Imam.

Descent categories of the village community

What does this kind of historical knowledge and descent identity mean now that the traditional state has been replaced by a government based on territorial administration? In particular, what does it mean at the most local level, for those whose lives are bound up in local community relations and devoted to the activities of food production? Referring to this local level as village society, we can add that few in this loosely defined majority category would appear to derive much that is politically or economically rewarding from the retained recognition of their exclusive patrilineal ancestries. Furthermore, discriminations by descent are at odds with the heralded notion of the village as a territorially-bounded community within which residents share a sense of civic commitment and neighbourly responsibility. Descent categories do, nonetheless, retain a significance in modern-day village society. In a preliminary way, we can say that descent categories have a ritual value that has endured without the political, administrative or even ceremonial functions ascribed to them within the traditional state. It remains to be shown, then, what this ritual value is and how it relates to the categories of the traditional state.

We can first of all note that on the island of Tidore, among people who identify themselves ethnically as Tidorese, the structure and history of the traditional state penetrates through to the most local level. This contrasts with the outlying districts of both the Tidorese and Ternatan realms. There the *soa* categories that tied people to the state were superimposed and largely territorial designations that operated for certain administrative functions but did not necessarily penetrate into and engage a local sense of identity and social order (Ellen 1978; Platenkamp 1984). This was not the case for Tidore itself (nor I assume for Ternate). There is little sense in postulating what a Tidorese ethnic identity or indigenous social order would be divorced from the history and order of the traditional state. Being Tidorese means being a part of the traditional state. Its history extends to every person who claims to be Tidorese by virtue of his or her essential patrilineal descent ties. People are compelled to remember these connections.

We need to give some attention, then, to the way descent categories subdivide and reach down into the social relations of village society. For this, and the remaining arguments about the use of descent categories in Tidore, I will be mainly discussing the village of Kalaodi where I conducted fieldwork.⁵

Kalaodi is a village of about 400 people living in mostly non-extended family households in six separate hamlets. The majority (68%) of people

⁵ Fieldwork in Tidore was conducted between October 1983 and June 1985.

living in Kalaodi claim to be Kalaodi by descent affiliation as well. As the patrilineal descendants of the founder of the village, Kapita Tubulowone, these people are distinguished as 'true' (*ma dihutu*) Kalaodi (keeping in mind that this highest-level descent-category designation, which is in such usage a *soa* designation, should be more fully specified as *Kalaodi la Isa*). There are at least twelve other *soa* to which people living in Kalaodi belong by descent. Four of these are represented in significant numbers, especially when considering the differential *soa* compositions of the hamlets. Thus, Soa Konora, which is another *soa* belonging to the district of Soa Sio, is the majority descent category in one of the hamlets. Some of the other *soa* (that is Soa Ngare, Ngosi and Tosofomakene) have noticeable concentrations of members in particular hamlets. For most aspects of daily social life, these and lower-level descent affiliations are either irrelevant or connote a sense of exclusivity that is actively suppressed. Notwithstanding the real effect virilocal residence has in perpetuating local concentrations of patrilineal kin, little regard is given to descent relations in the fulfilment of such community responsibilities as assigning people to leadership positions, allocating garden plots, forming co-operative work groups and participating in Islamic devotional activities.

Despite the devaluation of descent in most social contexts, there are two characteristics of descent as a sustained principle of social order that should be pointed out. The first of these is that descent affiliations are not forgotten under the incessant pressure people feel to identify themselves by other means (for example, by community residence and household). Calling attention to descent discriminations can undermine the sense of inclusive solidarity held desirable for the village community and so, for this reason, is deemed inappropriate in many contexts. Yet, there is nothing that is comparable to the 'genealogical amnesia' said to occur among commoners in some other state societies of the archipelago (see Geertz and Geertz 1975; Errington 1989). People do not obscure their own exclusive, though largely non-prestigious, patrilineal ancestries by using the names of their children or noble patrons when referring to each other. This is not to say that genealogical knowledge is impressively preserved. In fact, genealogies for most people in Kalaodi are rather shallow. But, by virtue of simply knowing what is given to them by patrification, people in Kalaodi are able to retain what is deemed essential to know about their distinctive ancestries, prestigious or not. (How this is so will become clearer below.) No one in the village of Kalaodi is without a patrilineal descent affiliation connecting him or her to the history of the state.

The second point to note is that descent is reckoned with rather strict adherence to the acknowledged facts of procreation. There is, then, no discernible tendency to compromise the principle of patrilineality for the

sake of grafting others onto descent lines. On the contrary, descent as a pure principle tends to be invoked as a way to distinguish true descendants from others who may only appear to be descendants. Thus, children raised by foster parents or stepfathers of other descent affiliations, though they may be active in the ritual traditions of their custodians' descent groups, will continue to be distinguished (with discretion) as not really belonging to these other descent lines. I was struck by how stringently people in Kalaodi upheld the patrilineal basis of descent category membership and avoided fictionalizing the inclusion of others. This also applies to the transmission of identifying properties of descent lines. Transfers can occur, for example, through maternal links; but rather than forgetting these as indeed eventful cases, thereby turning exceptional maternal transfers into supposed non-eventful paternal ones of continuous patrilineal extension, the tendency is instead to recall the transfers for what they were and thus preserve the distinctiveness of the descent lines. An example of this has already been given in the recounting of how patrilineal descendants of Tubulowone received the soa identity of Kalaodi. So long as the transfer of the name is remembered as having occurred through a maternal link, there is a retention of the distinctiveness of the descent category identities; Seaward Kalaodi supplied this identifying property, Landward Kalaodi received it. This can similarly occur at lower-level descent branches when ritual traditions are transferred outside patrilineal descent lines. While the active involvement certain people have in non-patrilineally acquired ritual traditions can lead to some confusion about one another's descent identities, there is discernible motivation, so long as descent as a principle is being invoked, to mark rather than blur distinctions.

How is descent as a principle that extends ancestral identities conceptualized? Islam provides a seemingly sufficient rationale for being patrilineal; because they are Muslims, they say, they 'follow the father' (*mote papa*). The most common idioms of descent use a spatial orientation that matches that of our own idioms. Distant ancestors are said to be 'high up' (*gau ine*). Whatever is acquired in succeeding generations is said to 'descend downward' (*uci tora*) to them. And the descent lines through which these transfers take place are referred to with a noun form of the verb 'descend' (*goguci*). Descent branches can also be spoken of as 'tributaries' (*sela*). But the concept that takes us furthest in understanding descent as a pure principle of extension is that of *ma dihut*. This expression would be glossed in different ways according to its particular usage. In one usage we would gloss it as 'true' or 'real' (for example, when it qualifies siblings that have the same parents); in another we would gloss it as 'original' (for example when it characterizes the founders of a village); and in yet another we would gloss it as 'owner' (for example, when it qualifies a relation to

land or *jin*). These are by no means divergent meanings. The ideas of truth, origins and ownership all belong to a common concept that is perhaps best captured in English by the expression 'authenticity'. This brings to mind the idea that the true identity of something is established in its origins and remains inalterable despite appearances and despite failures to recognize it as such.

Conversely, what is not authentic may take on qualities that imitate the original, but in truth has origins, and thus a true identity, deriving from other sources. The Tidorese expression *ma dihututu* can be used broadly to refer to, for example, the authenticity, or genuineness, of something like a Seiko watch or pair of Levi's jeans, but more often it is used in qualifying social identities.⁶ In this case, patrilineal descent is always implied, for it is through uninterrupted father-son ties that one's true identity is thought to be extended. To question, for example, whether someone is 'true' (*ma dihututu*) Kalaodi is to question whether that person has that identity by virtue only of a patrilineal connection to the originator of that identity.

A critical step needs to be taken at this point in understanding how descent as a pure principle of extension retains its orienting value for people in village society today. Invoking the purity of the principle, by invoking the notion of *ma dihututu*, helps to sustain a disjunction and tension between expressed knowledge of past events and the unyielding and absolutely given truth of origins. This is a point that is missed in a positivist approach to descent theory for which the issue of descent becomes one of inquiring about the relative correspondence between certain lawful principles and the empirical results of their application. These results would be found in the content of genealogical knowledge, group composition, inheritance practices and the like. If this were the issue in understanding descent in Kalaodi, we would be content to conclude that there is a close adherence to patrilineal descent principles in determining *soa* and other descent-group affiliations.

But this overlooks what I take to be the motivating force behind continuing the use of descent categories. A pronounced concern for what is *ma dihututu* does not act to secure recognized social positions in articulated arrangements but, on the contrary, acts to keep these in question. Whereas acknowledging an affiliation is acknowledging something that is apparent about someone's descent identity, calling attention to his or her 'authenti-

⁶ The Indonesian, Arabic-derived, term *asli* is more often used in speaking of the genuineness of commodities. It is interesting that the cognate of *asli* in Arabic involves a complex of meanings that makes it very similar to the Tidorese expression *ma dihututu* (see Rosen 1984). We cannot assume, however, that Arab-Islamic influences account for these ideas being taken up in Tidore. *Ma dihututu* is a cognate of North Halmaheran expressions that have related semantic meanings. See Platenkamp (1988) for a discussion of the meaning *ma dutu* in (non-Islamic) Tobelo.

city' in that affiliation is calling attention to a truth that can never be fully apparent or outwardly recognizable as such. We should not be taken in, then, by the relative accuracy of patrilineal descent reckoning as if this means something in itself. The insistence on purity (true origins) is an insistence that the truth of people's origins and ancestral identity is not to be confused with the claims to knowledge people at present make. Historical knowledge should, of course, reflect this truth. But how is expressed knowledge, itself subject to contingent variation, to be trusted? Much more could be said here about the way people in Kalaodi refer to their ancestral past and take responsibility for preserving knowledge about this past, but this would lead us away from the limited concerns of this essay. I will simply suggest, giving some substantiation below, that the very concern people in Kalaodi have for the truth of ancestral origins, that seems to lead to relative accuracy in their reckoning of descent ties, has the more profound effect of making problematic any expressed knowledge of ancestry. So, it is not the high degree of correspondence to an ideal principle that should impress us so much as the possibility open to them, because they value a pure notion of descent, that anything expressed can be in deviation from the truth.

How does this skeptical attitude come across in Kalaodi? During my stay there, it did occasionally show itself in statements people made, furtively (at least in my presence) and in restricted groups of trusted people, about the truth of the past differing from the publicly accepted historical knowledge: Tubulowone was not really of Ternatan descent; the five *soa* that have claim to the ritual traditions indigenous to the island were not really founded by the original inhabitants of the island; Islam did not really originate in the Middle East. Invariably the implication was that the deeper truth of origins was closer to home. Most of the men who were bold enough to make such statements about alternative histories had reputations that were questionable to many precisely because of their boldness. If it were not for a noticeable consistency in what such people have to say, and an obvious interest that others, even detractors, have in hearing what they say, we might dismiss such heterodoxies as aberrant. Instead, I think both the furtive statements and their dismissal indicate something general about an underlying skeptical attitude. There is a presumption that the real truth of origins is not, and cannot be, revealed as public knowledge.

More fully to understand this, we need to consider the ancestral traditions that provide the grounds for such a presumption. This helps us to get away from viewing the attitude as primarily an intellectually skeptical or speculative one, which it is not. The ancestral ritual traditions that provide the grounds for questioning revealed knowledge, or more simply holding a questioning attitude about such knowledge, are sustained by a moral com-

punction to keep in right relation to the world by keeping in right relation to sources of power that are hidden from view. This is more a matter of acting responsibly, given one's substantial connections to an ancestral past that is not completely revealed, than of speculating about what really happened in the past. Continued health and prosperity, not knowledge per se, depend upon holding to the truth.

A key to understanding this is found in the idea of 'ownership' that *ma dihutu* invokes along with the seemingly more abstract and speculative notions of 'truth' and 'origins'. Preserving an identity through patrilineal descent is not simply a matter of knowing who you are by knowing who your ancestors were, but of knowing what you have by continuing to be responsible for what your ancestors had. People in Kalaodi would often justify their continued adherence to ancestral traditions, especially in the face of modernizing trends that would do away with these non-Islamic practices, with the comment that they 'remember their ancestors' (*sonyinga gosimo*). Remembering in this sense is less the cognitive condition of knowing who the ancestors were than the responsible practice of performing the ritual. Ancestral traditions are also referred to as 'what the ancestors left behind' (*gosimo na dodia*). This can be said in a meaningful way without greater specificity and implies a range of things valued as the traces of ancestors. But by far the most essential ancestral acquisitions left for descendants are local spirits referred to as *jin*. Being a patrilineal descendant of an ancestor who had established relations with particular jinns (*jin*) (often in conjunction with the founding of particular settlements) makes a person an 'owner' (*ma dihutu*) of those jinns and obligates that person, along with all the other descendants, to continue to be responsible for propitiating them. Jinns in this way are the focus of the ritual traditions by which descendants remember their ancestors.

Communications with jinns and the preservation of ancestry

Jinns are thought of as human-like beings living in a world invisible to humans. Specific locations on Tidore and neighbouring islands are thought of as connecting points between these worlds. The locations are called *limao* ('capital') in their identification with certain jinns, or *goya* in the sense of their being regarded as sacred spots. Most all of the interaction (positive and negative) between humans and jinns is interaction that follows upon the formal establishment of relations between particular people and particular jinns.⁷ Without knowing what, if any, jinns will come forward, a person can

⁷ Free-ranging spirits that people encounter and fear because of the harm they can bring are usually referred to as *iblisi* or *kawasa*. These terms, along with the term *jin*, do not so

try to initiate relations by burning incense and calling on the jinns to descend (*uci*) and possess another person acting as medium (*bobane*). If a jinn responds and possesses the medium, the one who burned the incense and successfully summoned the jinn, referred to as the *sowohi* in this capacity, will ask the jinn's name, ask where the jinn's *limao* is, and request to receive its medicine (*sou*), or more mildly stated, its blessings (*berkati*). It is for the sake of receiving increased health and prosperity from the medicine of jinns that relations are sought in the first place. Not surprisingly, such human-desired benefits are only to be given in exchange for what the jinns themselves desire. Failure to reciprocate not only removes the chance of receiving the medicine of jinns but invites disaster from their equally potent acts of retribution.

Once relations with jinns are established they cannot easily be broken. This means that the reciprocal relations between particular jinns and humans are ideally preserved in unbroken lines of patrilineal descent. Whereas hardly anyone of the present generation in Kalaodi has personally initiated relations with jinns, everyone has obligations to jinns to whom their ancestors had acquired relations in the past. Unchosen descent affiliations, that extend true (*ma dihututu*) social identities, are what make people the owners (*ma dihututu*) of jinns.

What do the obligations entail? The most basic demand of the jinns is simply that communications continue. For the particular jinn, or group of jinns, with whom relations have been established, there is an incense pot kept on an altar in the side room of someone's house. The jinns are summoned by the *sowohi*, who burns incense and asks them to descend into one or several mediums present. The occasions for doing so vary. Sometimes they are prompted by conditions of distress (sickness, bad harvests, social discord); sometimes they are specified by the jinns on earlier occasions; sometimes they are calendrically determined; and sometimes they are for no other reason than that considerable time has passed since jinns were last summoned and spoken to. The scale of ceremony and amount and kinds of offerings also vary. They can be small intimate affairs, for which little more than cigarettes and betel are offered to the jinns, or they can be elaborate social affairs requiring considerable preparation and the amassing of enough resources to feed and entertain the crowds of people that usually attend. These latter kinds of ceremonies, called *selai jin*, 'jinn dances', are regarded with great enthusiasm in the village communities. Besides the elaborate food offerings that are made and placed on large decorated altars, there is singing, dancing and feasting that goes on for three,

much identify different kinds of spirits as offer different ways of speaking about the same kinds of local spirits.

five or sometimes seven days, all for the sake (ostensibly) of pleasing the jinns.

Before saying more about the benefits derived from propitiating jinns, we can note the relationship jinns have to the descent group structure that we have already discussed with reference to the categories of the traditional state. Below the level of *soa*, the descent structure is a simple segmentary one. Lines of more recent ascendants form branches of the more inclusive descent categories established by earlier ascendants, the most inclusive being the *soa* categories themselves. The categories at various levels of inclusiveness below the *soa* are sometimes referred to as *fam*, but more often are referred to as *halii*.

What branches count as separate *halii*, and what serves to mark their separation? We have seen how *soa* are delimited and given formal recognition in transfers made and recounted as historical events. To some extent this idea that recognition is given and preserved in history applies to these lower-level descent branches as well.

Speaking now just of Kalaodi, it is thought to be important that people living in the present generation retain knowledge of events in the past that led to the founding of particular community settlements. Most of the recognized *halii* are (understood to be) ones established by the founders of particular settlements. Conjoined with this historical knowledge are various forms of ceremony that periodically display and validate the accepted order of the more inclusive *halii* within the local village community. These ceremonies appear to be analogous to those of the state that display the order of *soa* categories.⁸

But, no matter how important this historical sense is, it strikes us, nevertheless, as being a limited one in accounting for the persistent recognition given to these lower-level descent categories.

Halii are generally not known by name, they have no associated secular titles comparable to those of the *soa*, and there are for them no formally differentiated political and economic functions. We need to bring into consideration properties of a quite different sort that belong to the differentiated *halii* and account for their persistence. These are the jinns with which founding ancestors established relations. Every descent category recognized as a *halii* is in possession of particular jinns for which all members of the

⁸ These ceremonies were not performed while I was in Kalaodi, but they were described to me. In the largest of these, called *legu buku se dou*, which mirrors a ceremony that is (or used to be) performed for the benefit of the whole island, the descent branches construct separate ceremonial houses. Descent branches can also conduct processions that make visible their status. These are called *gahi gosimo na bobato*, which is difficult to translate but alludes to the 'order' of which ancestors are a part and which is ceremonially displayed (*bobato*, from a root word meaning 'order', can refer to regalia and ceremonial customs, as well as, in a different context, the ministers of the state).

halii share ritual responsibilities. For every *halii*, then, there is a *sowohi*, certain people who act as mediums (*bobane*), and particular geographical locations that are the sacred spots (*goya*) of their jinns. It is at the lower-level descent branches that the possession of jinns seems paramount, but this descent-category component is not lacking from the higher levels either. Everyone who claims to be Kalaodi by descent, and thus belongs to this *soa* level category, shares responsibilities for the jinns of the village. There is for all of Kalaodi a *sowohi*, several *bobane*, and a principal sacred spot.

The ownership (*ma dihututu*) of jinns makes manifest as present-day groups the descent categories that were established in an ancestral past and extended by a principle of patrilineal descent. This is not to say that the principle of extension, giving people this 'ownership' and resulting in discernible descent groups, operates mechanically, as if without motivated action. The close correspondence between descent categories as these would be given in principle and descent groups (the actual *halii*, or *fam*) as these form congregations of people propitiating particular jinns, is the result of the felt responsibility, or moral compunction, to uphold ancestrally derived obligations.

There is resistance in this, for descent groups are formed and maintained against a background of complex networks of interpersonal relations created by separate households acting, for the most part, in their own best interest with limited regard for principles of descent. We can think of the jinns as providing the motivation to retain, in the midst of what people in Kalaodi say is a great deal of mixing of people, an order that corresponds to an ancestrally established one. The jinns, as beings whom people feel compelled to please, have an interest in seeing that all of their owners (that is all patrilineal descendants of the original founders) come together. When attendance at ceremonies is sparse, the jinns typically berate the *sowohi* for allowing too much dispersal of members of the descent group. The jinns are understood to have a vested interest in the proliferation and unbroken continuity of descent lines. They have, as well, some sanctioning control over this continuity. The common threat that jinns make when they are not pleased is that children and grandchildren will die. What people hope to gain in pleasing the jinns, which means at the same time 'remembering' their ancestors, is continued health and prosperity.

Ancestral traditions and the non-apparent past

To summarize what has been said about the descent structure, the categories of the state, marked by certain attributes that give them historical recognition, are also categories of ancestral ritual traditions connecting descendants to the healing powers of local spirits. While essentially all of the

political and economic state functions have ceased, the categories nevertheless persist in the preservation of ancestral ritual traditions. We can go on to ask, then, what the relationship is between these two different aspects of the descent categories.

Hearing some of the most freely told stories about origins, which invariably means stories about *other* people's origins, gives one the sense that groups from outside the island brought with them their ritual traditions as they became incorporated into a state that was already centred on the island (with the exception that the five untitled *soa* were indigenous to the island). Soa Tobaru of the village of Jai, mentioned above, is an example. Their distinctive ritual practices, as well as items used in ritual display, are said by non-Jai people to be derived from Tobaru traditions brought from Halmahera. These are elements of their deeper (what I have been calling prehistorical) heritage that must be retained for the sake of enduring health and prosperity. This idea that ancestral traditions derive from a more distant ('higher' or *gau*) past – a past that is out of the scope of history and thus belongs to the groups' own stories – seems basic to a contrast drawn between state and ancestral traditions. Attributes of the state were given to founding ancestors who themselves already had an identity derived from a yet deeper ancestry not recognized in this global history.

But the placement of the Sultanate inside (the island) and the ancestral traditions outside is more often reversed. The successional line of sultans comes from a decidedly foreign source, from Arabia, as most people put it. The ancestral traditions usually become identified, in different ways, with sources that are just as decidedly indigenous. The lawful order of society was brought from abroad and imposed on the indigenous people who, until then, lived in a state of chaos. This is how a man well-respected for his knowledge of the past (being himself a member of one of the five recognized indigenous *soa*) explained it to me. He made it clear that the line of sultans, and all those placed in the class of royalty (*dano*), continued to represent a foreign source of authority.

In contrast to this are the indigenous peoples of Tidore and the Moluccas who retained their ancestral traditions but were also in a position to accept the properties that would mark them as belonging to this lawful order. Among most Tidorese speakers, the localization of this indigenous source of identity becomes, at least implicitly, the island of Tidore itself. Generalizing this notion, the same man who told me that the state order was brought from abroad added to his account of the movements of his own prehistorical forbears that really all of the peoples of the Moluccas, in the beginning, came from Tidore; they dispersed to other places, only later to return when the traditional state was in place. The image, then, is one of an

indigenous centre brought under political control from outside.⁹ Others tend to adopt this image when they speak of, or make allusions to, their own earliest ancestry. Thus, even though the publicly told and outwardly accepted story is that the ancestor of Kalaodi came from Ternate, many descendants of this ancestor suggested to me on more private occasions that their true origins, in a more distant past, were indeed from Tidore.

We find in this a conceptualization of the contrast between state categories and ancestral traditions. The former were externally delimited in decisive events of a universal history; the latter were derived indigenously from a more distant past not revealed in this history. However, presenting this as a difference between history and prehistory can be misleading if it suggests that ancestral traditions are simply left over from a past not comprehended in a recognized historical order.

Two points can be made to suggest that the relationship is a more dynamic and tension-filled one. First of all, the very principle of descent that extends the categories of the state (and extends affiliations of people into the recognized *soa* categories) can be used to bring the 'truth' of this historical order into question. I refer here to the notion of *ma dihut* that is so important to ancestral traditions and that, when it is invoked, directs attention to originating ties that are essential to remember but are not apparent. In upholding an historical order, descent in a retrospective manner need only go so far, to points where formal recognition was given to ancestors. Ancestral traditions, however, keep the question open about all that was original to these ancestors prior to their coming into historical recognition. The second point is that the elusive and hidden character of ancestral traditions, which correlates with the idea that a more distant past is less clearly known, seems to be essential to what these traditions embody. In other words, the lack of clarity and ordered articulation is not the incidental result of a wide gap in time separating people in the present from their earliest ancestors, but part of the essential character of ancestral traditions. This character finds expression in other forms than a temporal jump from articulated history to a less articulated prehistory. The active communications people maintain with jinns represent identifying ties to hidden indigenous sources of power that contrast with the more visible marks of recognition given to descent categories by foreign sources of power. The dynamic complementarity between an indigenous source of spiritual power and a foreign one of political power manifests itself also in the form of a diarchy, well known in Eastern Indonesian societies (Van Wouden 1968). In the myth of the origins of the Moluccan states, some simply say that Jafar Sadek married a local

⁹ On the identification of the Ruler as outsider, as this has been observed elsewhere, see Sahlins (1985) and Visser (1984).

woman, Nur Safaa. But, as most people understand it, Nur Safaa was a jinn.¹⁰ This is the union out of which the order of the state was born. The two components continue to be discernible in dual sources of authority. The Sultan's political authority, coming from abroad and active in government and warfare, is coupled to the spiritual authority of the island's *sowohi* (*sowohi kie*) who acts as ritual mediator with the jinns of the island. The position of the latter, referred to in Malay by the regionally familiar title of *tuan tanah* ('lord of the land'), is passed in one of the five *soa* considered to be indigenous to the island.¹¹ Having a house located inland, the *sowohi* is also called *jou tina*, 'inland lord'.

The diarchical form can be discerned at a lower village level as well. Even though those who have claim to being true Kalaodi form a majority in the village, they do not identify themselves as political leaders of the village. Government leadership, I was told, was always in the hands of outsiders, men living in Kalaodi but of other *soa*. Indeed, many of the most politically prominent men in the village have not been Kalaodi by descent and the position of village head has, through a number of generations, been filled by members of non-Kalaodi *soa*. What cannot, however, pass outside the descent line of the village's founder is the title of *sowohi*. The *sowohi* at the village-wide level is responsible for mediating relations with jinns of the village and leading the largest-scale jinn ceremonies that serve to procure blessings for the village. This separation of political and ritual functions also carries down to the hamlet and *halii* levels of organization.

To show how state categories and ancestral traditions exist in dynamic complementarity, I will return to the story of the founding of Kalaodi. What becomes evident in this portion of the story is that the two sources, or components, of order, one foreign and the other indigenous, leave different types of identifying marks on the land that descendants of the founding ancestor would come to inhabit. These are, respectively, territorial landmarks and sacred spots.

As the story is told of Tubulowone's settling in Tidore after having fled Ternate, the Sultan took land that belonged to Soa Doyado and gave it to Tubulowone. Out on a boat some distance off the eastern shore of the island, looking inland at the interior, the Sultan asked the *gimalaha* of Doyado who was with him to name the most prominent hills. The Sultan then pronounced the new names for these hills that marked the location where Tubulowone and his descendants would live. These are the names by which

¹⁰ The assumption also seems to be in Tidore that Nur Safaa was from Tidore. This pride of place they give to themselves usually comes with the observation that it was, after all, Jafar Sadek's eldest son who became Ruler of Tidore.

¹¹ While there has been no successor to the last Sultan, who died in 1905, the position of *sowohi kie* has continued to be filled.

the most conspicuous landmarks in the territory of Kalaodi are known today. In the story the Sultan then ordered two men from Soa Sio (the district to which Kalaodi would belong) to go with two Doyado brothers to walk around the circumference of the territory in order to learn the boundaries. They did so and the Soa Sio men learned the names and locations of smaller landmarks along the way. After completing the circle, the two Soa Sio men parted with the Doyado men and returned to the coast.

The Doyado brothers then headed back home, cutting across the territory they had just circled. Not far into the territory they began to hear the sound of beating drums and singing voices. They soon came upon a ceremonial house and a group of dancing and singing spirits (*iblisi*, or *jin*). The two men stayed through the night with the jinns. At the approach of dawn, the younger brother urged that they should go, but the older brother remained captivated. Lightness began to appear on the horizon and the younger brother fled. When he looked back he saw his older brother turn into a snake, the house of the jinns turn into a rock, and the jinns disappear. The snake crawled under the rock. The younger brother ran to tell the *gimalaha* of Doyado what had happened and then returned to the inland territory to look for his missing brother. He himself disappeared at another location.

The two locations where the Doyado brothers disappeared are sacred spots of jinns that the descendants of Tubulowone own and that the *sowohi* of Kalaodi today summon in village-wide ritual. The story tells of the localization of these ancestral traditions in the context of telling of the historical acts by which the state brought the territory into outward recognition. The contrast between these aspects of identity is clear. As in the creation of *soa* categories, the Sultan is the principal agent of the state who, by his actions and pronouncements, bestows marks of recognition on divisible entities which thereby become part of the state. In this portion of the story, however, it is not names and titles given to *soa* founders but names given to the most conspicuous landmarks. From a distant vantage point these are the most visible attributes by which the territory can be recognized. Closer, but peripheral to the territory, the representatives of Soa Sio learned names of other identifying landmarks. There is a successional order to these names that trace a route around the territory. Some people in Kalaodi seem to find a pleasure in reciting these names, which is a type of performance we cannot help but compare to the above-mentioned reciting of *soa* names. In both cases there is an affirmation of the recognizable order of things as this was established in history and validated under the authority of a lawful state.

In the very story that affirms this order there also appear identifying marks for the territory that were not so outwardly visible (they were within the territory) and were not made publicly known (the representatives of the

district had left). The locations where the brothers disappeared are regarded as points of attachment that inhabitants of the land, mostly descendants of Tubulowone, have to unseen indigenous spiritual powers. We can see in this the same dynamic complementarity that belongs to the diarchy. The contrast made in the story between what is seen openly and clearly (what happened in the day) and what is obscured from public view (what happened in the evening and night) uses the same qualities attributed to the Sultan and *sowohi* respectively. The former, who is representative of the state, is sometimes referred to as 'lord of light' (*jou sita-sita*), the latter, who is representative of ancestral traditions, is referred to as 'lord of dark' (*jou kornono*).

The story gives more prominence to the hidden, otherworldly character of ancestral traditions than to their prehistorical character. Yet the temporal dimension is still present and gives us some insight into the tension existing between the recognized events of history and the less apparent truth of ancestral origins. It also indicates how the latter can bring the former into question. We need to remember that *ma dihututu* invokes an ahistorical principle of extension leading from, or back to, what is always more original; it points to what is essentially, rather than contingently, given. The Sultan effected a change of status for the land, transferring it from Doyado to Kalaodi. As an historical event that could be accepted as legitimately realigning the placement of people and land in the lawful order of the state, the transfer was complete. People of Doyado retained absolutely no economic claims to the land or anything produced on it. But we note that the men who disappeared in the recounted story of this transfer were Doyado men. The previous owners of the land were the ones to mingle with the spirit world and, by their disappearance, sink the original (*ma dihututu*) Doyado identity into the land. A royally enacted transfer can bring a valid change in recognized status and secure this status in an accepted arrangement, but it cannot change origins. Today the people of Kalaodi still speak of the people of Doyado as the owners (*ma dihututu*) of their land and still rely upon certain men among them to perform rituals for healing the village.

The above story of the founding of the village, while accepted for what it says of the established state order, is by most people regarded as very shallow ('very low', *podo lau*) with respect to its account of their ancestors and ancestral traditions. Other origins still preceded these origins and thus, in an endlessly regressive fashion, bring into question any order that is outwardly given and accepted.

But even without the speculations, or hintings, about the content of this true knowledge of the past, the ritual practices seem to be motivated by a felt need to remain in substantial connection with sources of identity that are not made altogether apparent but are, on that very account, to be held as

closer to the truth. A key expression of this is found in the paired terms *sareat* and *hakekat*. They are derived from Arabic words meaning, respectively, 'law' and 'truth'. As they are used in Tidore, *sareat* can mean 'government' in a very general sense; *hal sareat*, for example, means 'matters of government'. It can also mean 'public' and 'visible'; such as when certain parts of ritual ceremony are said to be *sareat*, meaning that they can be seen by anyone. *Hakekat* has meanings that contrast with these. It means 'truth' or 'reality' in the sense that these are never the same as appearances (what is made public or visible). This can be with reference to the non-apparent truth of the past which extends back prior to the revelations of history (the truth of Islam, for example), but it can also mean the essential hidden aspects of ritual ceremony. In this latter sense it almost always implies human dealings with jinns and the ritual concerns of *sowohi*. *Hal hakekat*, in contrast to *hal sareat*, or 'matters of government', are matters of ritual traditions for which jinns are invariably the focus. These terms give expression, then, to a perpetuated dynamic complementarity between state order and ancestral ritual traditions.

Conclusion

I have addressed in this essay the question of how descent categories binding people to the order and history of the state continue to be employed in village society in Tidore long after the political and economic functions attributed to these categories have ceased. Attention has been drawn to the distinctive ritual component of the descent categories that bind people to indigenous sources of healing power, that is, to jinns. Considering that the function of the *sowohi*, whether at the island-wide level or local-descent-group level, has remained a viable one without the continued fulfilment of corresponding state administrative functions of the *bobato*, it seems that the ritual value of ancestral traditions is the one supplying motivation for people to retain the recognition of descent categories. Because there is a complementarity between the externally created order of the state categories and their internally derived ritual properties, retention of the latter goes along with a certain retention, or recovery, of the former. So, while the administrative functions are gone, there remains in village society a felt need to recount the history of the state and to hold onto the knowledge of how the descent categories came into a recognized order.

However, we need to stress that the complementarity is a dynamic one and thus avoid construing it as a settled categorical opposition. Each side contains, so to speak, an argument for undoing or subordinating the other. On the side of historically established state order is the claim that all that is given recognition under the lawful authority of the state supersedes what-

ever had come before. On the side of ancestral traditions is the claim that the truth is found in what was original. This dynamic complementarity, as indicated in the above discussion, is variously expressed in Tidore. It would make sense, then, that people in village society, who derive little prestige from their ancestry in the state order, would nevertheless be motivated to retain recognition of the descent categories. Rather than being simply accepted for what they are, as overtly ordered categories of the state, they are held onto as the necessary foil for the active ancestral traditions pointing to deeper origins.

If this is so, those who hold real power and political authority in the modern state government (who do not belong to what I have been loosely calling 'village society') might be expected to have less inclination to continue giving recognition to what is now a superseded traditional state order. This seemed to be the case when, in the 1960s, a mosque was built in Kalaodi under the direction of some politically and historically prominent men with ties to the village. These men were descendants in a line of *mahimo* (elders formally appointed as village heads during colonial rule) who were among the first to leave the village, get an education, and become civil servants. During my stay in Kalaodi this mosque was identified as the cause of illnesses and social turmoil troubling the village. In the traditional state, Kalaodi was a part of the district of Soa Sio, which meant that its mosque should have continued to be the one in Soa Sio.

A more telling example comes from the inland village that administratively had belonged to the district of Gamtofkange and was the residential location of the five indigenous untitled *soa*, including that of the *sowohi* of the island. During the time of my fieldwork, and under the impetus of the elders of these latter *soa*, a successor to the highest of the Gamtofkange *bobato*, the *gimalaha to ma you*, was selected and ceremoniously installed at the house of the *sowohi*. In the village, this was spoken of as an important occasion that might lead to the eventual filling of other *bobato* offices that had been allowed to go vacant. There was even talk of eventually installing a successor to the last Sultan. On the other side of this, however, was a noticeable lack of interest displayed by those people, mostly living in modern administrative centres as civil servants, who by descent were in a position to be the successors. These were people who also scoffed at the idea of Tidore ever having a new Sultan. With such an attitude among the potential title bearers, the process of finding a successor for the position of the *gimalaha* of Gamtofkange had proven difficult. The most likely candidate, a son of the last *gimalaha*, said he was not interested because he was too busy in his current government job. A more distant relative, also a civil servant, was found. But, there was considerable complaining in the village because of the lack of enthusiasm this man showed. Most upsetting

was the fact that after the installation ceremony, instead of sitting with the *sowohi* and the other elders for a while, the new *gimalaha* immediately got up and went home.

Nothing conclusive, of course, can be drawn from these examples. But they do suggest that a driving interest to retain a recognition of the descent lines that constituted the order of the state in Tidore does not come so much from those who stand to gain prestige from it, but from those who feel themselves committed to the ancestral traditions that are a component of these same categories. The more general conclusion pertains to our understanding of descent. The 'essentialism' that we detect in a pure principle of descent, expressed in Tidorese as a condition of being *ma dihut*, rather than finally securing an order of categories, has the effect of keeping any revealed order in question. The continued use of descent categories in village society in Tidore suggests this to be the case.

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BARBARA DIX GRIMES

Buru inside out

The island of Buru has an indigenous population oriented to the mountainous interior of the island while numerous colonies of immigrants from other islands live along its coasts. In this setting, social boundaries are very important for the indigenous people who call themselves *geb fuk Bururo* ('people of Buru island/mountain').¹ By virtue of their origins, the *geb fuk Bururo* define themselves as distinct from the thousands of immigrants on the island whom they call *geb man lau taun* ('people of groups flowing from the sea/from afar', i.e. foreigners). The first section of this paper presents a brief introduction to the social and political organization of the 'inside' people – the *geb fuk Bururo* – by describing the ways in which they differentiate themselves externally from the outside world as well as internally within their own society.

While social boundaries sharply define the 'inside', this is not to say Buru society has had no contact with the 'outside'. As a case in point, a great melange of social titles exist in Buru society many of which have come from the outside. The second section of this paper focuses on the outside political titles and systems that have been overlaid on Buru society over the last few centuries. Most of these political systems were established regionally, not just on Buru, and from the outside, and thus can appear to be merely a continuation of systems administered elsewhere. The point of this paper, however, is to show how these outside systems and titles have been interpreted on Buru and been given new meaning from the inside.

'People of Buru island'

The total population of Buru island is estimated to be around 102,000 people,² but only around 43,000 people are *geb fuk Bururo*, making the

¹ The research upon which this paper is based was carried out between 1985 and 1991 under a co-operative programme between Pattimura University, Ambon and the Summer Institute of Linguistics under the auspices of the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. Fieldwork in 1990-91 was additionally supported by the Australian National University. I am grateful to Jim Fox and Chuck Grimes for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

² The figures given here are based on 1987 government statistics from each of the three

native population less than half the total population. The remainder of the population, the *geb man lau taun*, are immigrants, many of whom have come from Buton and Sula to colonize the north and west coasts of Buru. These families have often lived for generations on Buru, carefully keeping track of their history and all the while maintaining their Buton or Sula identity and language. More recent immigrants include the approximately 23,000 Javanese who live mostly in the Wae Apo transmigration area, with a much smaller number also living around a plywood factory at the mouth of the Wa Nibe River on the north coast. Smaller colonies of other ethnic groups from Sulawesi, North Maluku and South Maluku are also found along the coast. Chinese and 'Arab' merchants as well as non-Buru government civil servants (district officials, police and school teachers) also live in many of the small coastal towns on the island.

Buru is a relatively large island, the third largest island in the province of Maluku, being smaller only than Seram and Halmahera. The island extends approximately 140 kilometres east to west and 90 kilometres north to south, covering 9,800 square kilometres. As a result of its geological formation from rapidly uplifted marine sediment (Bellwood 1985:4-5), Buru is a very mountainous non-volcanic island with massive coral cliffs along its south coast. Jagged uplifted coral rocks proliferate on the mountainsides and can be found up to 1600 metres above sea level. Kak Pala Madat, the highest peak on the island, rises to 2,735 metres.

Very important distinctions are made on Buru in references to where people reside on the island: there are *geb fuka* (mountain people) and *geb masi* (sea/coastal people). Not only do all the immigrants live on the coast, but approximately 38 percent of the *geb fuk Buru* are Muslim and live on the coast as well. Given the entire population of the island then, four out of five people on Buru live on the coast and are thus considered to be *geb masi*. The *geb fuka* are the 20,000 to 25,000 native non-Muslims who remain traditionally oriented to the mountains and live in the vast interior of the island.³

As these terms illustrate, native ways of categorizing the population of Buru are thus based on distinctions of ethnicity, religion and residence. There is evidence these dichotomies have been in use on Buru for a long time and various references to them can be found in the small amount of

kecamatan on Buru (Kantor Statistik 1987a, 1987b, 1987c) and are supplemented by personal knowledge of the island from C. Grimes (1991).

³ My research efforts have focused primarily on the *geb fuka*, the native non-Muslim population and this paper is written in reference to this part of Buru society. Preliminary investigation among native Muslim communities on both the north and south coasts indicates that similar social and political organization occurs there as well as many similar cultural ideas.

literature that has been written on Buru. Willer, a Dutch colonial officer who visited Buru in 1847, described it as having a 'relatively cultured Muslim coastal population and the much less cultured heathen inland population'.⁴ While it is difficult to know whether the cultured Muslims Willer referred to were only immigrants, or also included native Buru Muslims, the Muslim-coastal versus heathen-inland dichotomy is apparent. In the late nineteenth century Christian missionary activity began on the south coast and in the interior of the island, but the basic religious and residential patterns Willer described can still be expressed today in terms of a Muslim-coastal versus non-Muslim-inland dichotomy. While other writers did not always do so, the Dutch missionary Schut (1919, 1921) was always careful to distinguish in his writings between the native people (*oorspronkelijke Boeroe-bevolking*) and other people on the island.

From the outside, the *geb fuk Bururo* present themselves as a cohesive linguistic and ethnic unit, distinct from the thousands of immigrants on the island. Looking toward the inside, however, they are divided into over 35 different social groups, called *noro*. No centralized political hierarchy unifies the different *noro* on the island, and the situation, as they say on Buru, is one where *noro saa printa tu nake noro* (each *noro* governs its own *noro*). All *geb fuk Bururo* belong to a *noro* and from it obtain their primary social identity as well as their *noro* names.

Buru *noro* have two names, which are explained as an 'inside' name and an 'outside' name. The reason for these two names was described to me as: 'We use our inside name when we speak our language and we use our outside name when we speak Malay.'⁵ This statement is consistent with my observations. Inside *noro* names are used – just as is the Buru language –

⁴ Translation from Van Fraassen (1983:40).

⁵ My use of the term Malay here is deliberate and meant as an equivalent for the term Melayu, which is used by people on Buru as well as other places in the region. Varieties of the Malay language have been spoken as a trade language in Maluku for many centuries. I have presented historical documentation elsewhere (B.D. Grimes 1991) showing that around 1680, the variety of Malay spoken in Central Maluku and in particular on Ambon, became significantly divergent from other varieties of Malay spoken in the Archipelago. I argue that this Malay is best characterized as a 'pidgin' which eventually creolized as it became to be the first and primary language of some of its speakers in the mid-nineteenth century. Now that Ambonese Malay is once again in contact with standard Malay in the form of Indonesian, a post-creole continuum has developed with Ambonese Malay at one end and formal Indonesian at the other. This phenomenon is typical of creoles in many parts of the world which are in contact with their original lexifying language (for example, Jamaican English Creole). In Central Maluku, particularly on Ambon, one can hear people speaking at many points along this continuum, from pure Ambonese Malay in informal situations to high formal Indonesian in official contexts, as well as various mixtures of the two. Most people on Buru have a very limited knowledge of formal Indonesian (if any) and when Melayu is spoken, it is very much toward the Ambonese-Malay end of this continuum.

throughout daily life whenever it is necessary to identify the *noro* affiliation of other Buru people. Outside names, called *fam* (as well as Malay) names, are used in the context of church, school, and in encounters with Indonesian government officials such as the police and health workers at the government centre on the coast. The existence of inside names is seen as evidence that people truly belong to Buru island. *Geb fuk Bururo* have both outside *fam* names and inside *noro* names, in contrast to immigrants who are considered to have only have *fam* names and no inside names. Names, as well as languages and people, thus belong to the inside or outside on Buru.

As already mentioned, *noro* are the highest-level political units in Buru society. Internally *noro* are considered to have *ekfakak* (be broken into sections), with each section being called a *hum lolin*. The name of these smaller social groups literally means the circle of the house and I will refer to them by both the Buru term as *hum lolin* and as House. Same-sex-sibling terms of relative age (*kai* elder and *wai* younger) are used to describe the relationship between the various Houses within a *noro*. Within a House genealogical connections are known among all the kin, typically extending to agnatic relations over four or five generations. Between people of different Houses within a *noro*, however, individual genealogical relationships are not reckoned. In these cases people refer to each other using same-sex-sibling terms of relative age (elder/younger same-sex sibling) but the determinate of relative age is the relative age ascribed to their respective Houses, rather than to the individuals themselves.

In the interior of the island, villages of *geb fuk Bururo* typically consist of around 50 to 200 people living in 10 to 30 households who usually belong to Houses from two or three different *noro*. The number of people actually present in a village varies greatly from time to time as villages are often uninhabited while people live in their garden houses or visit relatives in other villages for extended periods. Individual households typically consist of a man, his wife or wives and their unmarried children. The eldest son may continue to reside in the house of his father after marriage, creating a three-generation household. Younger sons, however, usually build their own house, creating a separate household when they marry.

The individuals within each household are affiliated socially with the larger groups of House and *noro*, while each household functions as a relatively autonomous economic unit. Extensive hunting is done in the jungle by men for wild pig, deer, cuscus and other smaller animals. Shifting cultivation consists primarily of yams, cassava, taro, millet, dry rice and corn. Where the terrain is suitable, sago is also planted and cultivated. Gardens belong to individuals, both men and women, and the owner decides how products from his or her garden are to be used, whether they

are to be consumed by the household, exchanged for other products, or taken to the coast to be sold to purchase commodities such as clothing, soap, sugar and kerosene.

Marriages must be transacted between Houses of different *noro*. People on Buru say that upon marriage men stay in the House while women exit their natal House and *oli* (literally: return) to the physical and social House and *noro* of their husband. Marriage thus transfers a women to another House in another *noro*, and hopefully results, through her fecundity, in its increase. The preservation and increase of the House is a focal concern of its elders, and there is considerable emphasis placed on arranging good marriages which will produce many children for the *hum lolin*.

When a son of a *hum lolin* is to marry, it is the responsibility of each household in the House to contribute to the bridewealth, part of which goes to the parents of the bride, while another part is divided among the elders of her House. When children are born after the marriage negotiations and transactions are complete, they belong to the House and *noro* of their father. After a man dies, his children and widow remain in his *hum lolin*. The widow leaves her dead husband's House only if she remarries someone of a different *hum lolin* or *noro*. In these cases, a so-called widow's bridewealth, half of a normal bridewealth, must be given to her dead husband's *hum lolin*. More commonly a widow is remarried to someone within her dead husband's House and no further bridewealth exchanges are needed.

Before moving on to consider how people on Buru have interpreted their relationships with the outside, it is necessary to look in more detail at traditional leadership in Buru society and at the power associated with political leaders. Every *hum lolin* has its *geb emtuato*, a term which literally means old people. This term is used to refer to both parents and to what approximates the English term elders. Politically, *geb emtuato* function through consensus in decision-making and negotiations as representatives of their *hum lolin*, particularly in matters relating to land and marriage. Men who have good skills in negotiating and are eloquent in speaking are put forth as the spokesmen for their House.

While *geb emtuato* applies very broadly to both elder men and women within a House, certain men may actually be given a title and are called *geb emngaa*, meaning a titled or named person. *Geb emngaa* gain their title by virtue of having been *lepak* (raised up) by the *geb emtuato* of their House or *noro*. As men of title, their position in society is objectified by the special manner in which they may tie their *ifutin* (headcloth). A *geb emngaa* can function at different levels within the *noro*. At certain times, as in marriage negotiations, he may represent only his House, while at other times he may represent the entire *noro* to which his House belongs. The metaphor of

head (*epyolot*) is also used as a synonym to refer to the *geb emngaa*. As head of a *noro*, or a segment of a *noro*, these men represent their kinsmen during official ceremonies, in disputes with individuals of other *noro*, and occasionally in interfacing with the Indonesian political system.

When a *geb emngaa* dies there is no immediate procedure set in motion to replace him. If there is no urgent need for someone to arbitrate disputes and officially represent the House or *noro*, it may be years before elders will agree to raise up a new *geb emngaa*. Personality and charisma are the important criteria in choosing *noro* leaders. A man can succeed his father in a leadership position, but it would be because of his own qualifications, not because of heredity. The process of raising up a *geb emngaa* is therefore not an automatic process, nor is it obligatory for the functioning of Buru society. It occurs only when people feel a need for someone to represent them and then only when they reach consensus on who would make a good *geb emngaa*.

As leaders, *geb emngaa* operate by persuading their kinsmen and fellow *noro* members to go along with what they suggest. Whether or not people *caan* (literally to sense something, with an extended meaning of listen to and follow along with someone's ideas) a leader depends on his ability to persuade them to do so. Again, decision-making is accomplished not by orders from the *geb emngaa* but by discussion, persuasion and ultimately consensus among all those involved in a matter, making it at times a very lengthy process. The ability of a *geb emngaa* to influence the actions of others then does not come by virtue of his title, but by his speech – his eloquent use of language and his ability to persuade others to follow a certain course of action.

The whole process of raising up a *geb emngaa* involves identifying this speaking ability in an individual and acknowledging it through consensus. I will refer to this process as 'entitlement' since, from a Buru viewpoint, it is seen as giving a person a title. The ability to speak well can also be recognized in people who are not, or not yet, entitled, but the combination of entitlement plus an individual's independent ability to speak well is what makes a good *geb emngaa*.

When the traditional consensus process is carried out in seeking the right person to entitle, the key criterion is the ability to speak effectively and thereby motivate others to action. However, this traditional criterion can be overlooked and people can become titled without having an ability to speak well. In the literature about Buru, as well as other areas in the region, there are often references to powerless leaders. Such a situation is possible precisely because power or influence over others does not come from the possession of a title in traditional Buru society but from an individual's speaking ability and his powers of persuasion. On Buru it is always possible

to ignore the suggestions of someone who is unconvincing, including *geb emngaa*. These Buru ideas about entitlement and the ability to speak well will be relevant later in this paper when discussing other political positions, such as *raja* and *kepala kampung*, where entitlement has come from outside Buru society.

Before considering these cases, however, one last point needs to be made about Buru entitlement: the source of entitlement is very important and is frequently referred to by *geb emngaa* themselves. For instance, one individual I know was raised up, but not by his own *noro*. The dynamics of the situation appear to be that in a previous village, prior to several recent migrations, people from two different *noro* were living together. People from one *noro* requested that the other *noro* raise up someone to be a spokesperson. When the second *noro* did not raise up anyone, the first *noro* eventually appointed someone from the second *noro* themselves. People from this man's own *noro* repeatedly informed me that: 'Yes, he has a title (*nga*at), but it was not we who raised him up'. The source of entitlement is thus never forgotten, and, as will be shown now, this is the case whether entitlement is seen as coming from within Buru society or from the Sultan of Ternate, the colonial Dutch government or the current Indonesian government.

Interaction with 'people from across the sea'

Much of daily life on Buru is focused on the land in hunting and gardening and in relating socially to other 'people of Buru island'. In general there is not much interaction with immigrants on the coast, nor is there concern given to things from the world beyond their island. And yet people, of course, do recognize that there is a world beyond their island and that it has come to Buru with different identities over time. People on Buru construct their interaction with 'people from across the sea' in terms of their different identities: *waktu Ternate* (Ternate era), *waktu Blanda* (Dutch era), and now *waktu Indonesia* (Indonesian era). In this section of the paper I briefly describe the history of Buru over the past several centuries as it has been constructed from the outside and then consider how it has been interpreted by the inside.

For the sake of clarity I refer to each political position discussed in this section mainly by one title. However, it should not be overlooked that in actuality there are often many ways to refer to a given political position and that a true plethora of titles exists in Buru society. Not only have titles come from the different outside political systems discussed here, but there is also a considerable diversity of titles applied to *geba emngaa* within the traditional Buru political system because each *noro* uses its own titles. In addition,

borrowed terms are also used as equivalents for both traditional and outside titles. For example, the Ternatan term *joh* as well as the term *latu*⁶ can be used to refer to either *noro* leaders or to leaders appointed by the Dutch, now most frequently called *raja*. The local Malay term *kepala soa* is at times used as an equivalent to the title given to *geba emngaa* of a House within a *noro*.

Waktu Ternate

When considering the nature of contact between Buru and the outside world, attention must be given to the important spice trade in the region. Nutmeg and mace were known to be found only on the islands of Banda and cloves on five small islands of North Maluku, including Ternate and Tidore. Towards the end of the fifteenth century Ternate and Banda, as the main trading ports for cloves and nutmeg respectively, accepted Islam through the influence of Asian traders and became incorporated into the Muslim trading world of Southeast Asia. With legitimation from Islam and with the rapid growth of the clove trade after the arrival of the Portuguese, the social and political structure of Ternate became transformed into a hierarchy with political and economic power centred on one man, the Sultan (Andaya 1990, 1993). As its power and wealth increased further, the Sultanate began to incorporate areas into its sphere of influence, exacting tribute and labour. West Halmahera, West Seram, Buru, Banda, Ambon and the Lease Islands, as well as parts of Sulawesi, were under the domain of the Sultanate of Ternate. A less powerful rival, the Sultanate of Tidore, controlled other regions.⁷

Under the influence of Ternate and traders from Makassar, parts of coastal Buru converted to Islam during the first half of the seventeenth century. According to Ternatan records, Ternatan governors of Buru lived in the Tomahu region of Northwest Buru during the first half of the seventeenth century (Valentijn 1856, II:4; Van Fraassen 1987, II:83, 86). The presence of Ternatan governors is not remembered on Buru today, 350 years later, but there is a contemporary political position on Buru closely linked with the Sultanate of Ternate: the position of *matgugul*.⁸ This title is used

⁶ The term *latu* derives from the Proto-Austronesian **datuq* 'chieftain'. The expected Buru reflex of **datuq* would be *[*ratu*], which does not occur in Buru. This indicates that in Buru the form *latu* is a loan, probably coming from Ambon or West Seram where *latu* is the expected form and occurs frequently (C. Grimes, personal communication).

⁷ For the nature of this relationship between the Sultanate and its dependencies, see Van Fraassen (this volume).

⁸ The title *matgugul* is from *mate*, a Buru title for a *noro* leader, and *gugul*, which is borrowed from Ternate. In the Ternatan language *gogugu* means the one who holds (something in his hand). In the early part of the sixteenth century the leader, called *kolano ma-gugu* on Ternate, was associated with being the one who held the kingdom and the king in his hand.

today for the leaders of four *noro* on Buru, two in the north and two in the south. According to Buru oral history, during *waktu Ternate* leaders from these four *noro* were appointed as the Sultan's representatives on Buru and were responsible for collecting *enati* (tribute) to be sent to Ternate.

While it is impossible to know for certain what kind of power was associated with *matgugul* in the seventeenth century and whether they were considered to have more prominence or a different basis for power than other *noro* leaders, it is clear how people on Buru today view the past. The historical linkage of the position of *matgugul* to the Sultanate is seen as a source of prestige, and is particularly stressed by *matgugul* themselves.⁹ While people from other *noro* acknowledge this historical connection of the Sultanate with the position of *matgugul* in saying that the Sultan appointed the first *matgugul*, they also stress the ideology of traditional equality between *noro* and claim that a *matgugul* is the same as any other *noro* leader. In fact, other *noro* leaders treat *matgugul* as equals. Like all leaders, their power is from their independent ability to persuade, not from their entitlement; people only listen to them if they are sufficiently persuasive. In this case, the connection with the Sultan was not able to confer lasting (if any) power to a title. In an environment of internal equality between *noro*, an external entitlement by the Sultan did not develop an internal political hierarchy within Buru society.

The interpretation people give today about the collection of tribute during *waktu Ternate* is significant in that it reflects the source of the Sultan's prestige, which all Buru people would acknowledge. I have frequently been told that *Fabrik pertama sultan Ternate na fuk Buru naa* (the primary factory of the Sultan of Ternate was here on Buru island). The word *fabrik* is borrowed from Dutch and is not used here in the twentieth century sense of 'factory' where things are produced, but with an old Dutch meaning of the source of things. What is being claimed is that the primary source of the Sultan's wealth and glory was Buru. As the items collected for tribute went from Buru to Ternate, so went wealth and glory from the blessed inside to the deprived outside.

Waktu Blanda

In 1605 the Dutch East India Company (VOC) took over the Portuguese forts on Ambon and Ternate, driving the Portuguese from the region. They then set out to ensure a total monopoly of the spice trade, but offered prices

By the end of that century the position of a *jow gugu* had transformed into being just one of the four court functionaries who were all subordinate to the Sultan (Van Fraassen 1987, I: 334).

⁹ There have been no new *matgugul* raised in South Buru since the last ones died earlier this century (from the Masbait *noro* and Mual *noro*), but in 1991 individuals in the Mual *noro* were discussing the need to appoint a new *matgugul*.

significantly lower than those offered by Asian traders who continued to come to Maluku and purchase large quantities of spices. When the VOC prohibited people from trading with anyone else but themselves, there was considerable resistance to the idea, particularly on Ternate, Hitu (the north coast of Ambon), and Hoamoal (the western peninsula of Seram). Because of the political domination of Ternate and the religious ties of Islam, people on the coast of Buru became involved in this resistance as well. During the decade of the 1650s, the VOC's desire for monopoly led them into an intensive war against everyone in the area who resisted their monopoly. Fighting occurred largely on Hitu and Hoamoal, but also on the coasts of Buru. It was several years before the VOC was able to subdue this resistance.

At the end of this war, in October and November of 1658, a contract was signed between the VOC and coastal Buru leaders with the Ternatan representative on Buru. The contract stated that the Ternatan governorship on Buru would be abolished, that the leaders of Buru would from that time be directly subordinate to the VOC governor of Ambon and assist in keeping all other traders out of the area. In addition, the contract stated that the leaders of Buru and their people would be taken to live around a Dutch fort built the year before at Kayeli on the southern part of Namlea Bay in Northeast Buru. In customary VOC fashion, the home areas of these people were 'systematically destroyed and rendered unfit for reoccupation' (Van Fraassen 1983:17; 1987, II:477).¹⁰

The villages established around the fort at Kayeli were the main focus of VOC activity on Buru as they sought to ensure that the Buru people did not assist independent traders and that they not cultivate cloves. Most of VOC activity in Central Maluku during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was centred on Ambon and the nearby Lease Islands. The company controlled the clove market by setting production goals and obliging the people on these islands to grow a fixed quantity of cloves each year, while clove cultivation was prohibited in other areas such as Buru (Van Fraassen 1983: 18). Elsewhere (B.D. Grimes, in press) I have given a preliminary analysis of the social and linguistic consequences of the forced settlement at the Kayeli fort. Here, however, I am concerned with the people of the interior, with the *geb fuk Bururo*, and it was not until the late nineteenth century that the colonial government took action that affected them.

In 1796 the British occupation of Ambon ended the VOC trade monopoly

¹⁰ This strategy was also carried out by the Dutch on Hoamoal (Seram) where they brought people who had been opposing them to live on Ambon with the leaders assigned places of residence around the Company fort at Batumerah. The leaders of Boano, Kelang and Ambelau were taken to live around another fort on Manipa (Van Fraassen 1983:17). These political moves by the Dutch had a significant effect on language use in these areas as well (B.D. Grimes, in press).

in the region. The Dutch regained control of Maluku in 1817, but by then the Company had been formally abolished in Holland and the Dutch presence this time was in the form of a colonial government. Significant changes were made by the new colonial government toward their goal of using colonial rule to produce conditions that would enhance trade throughout the Archipelago without the direct control of the government. Van Fraassen (1983:34) describes the effects of the new policies in Central Maluku: '[...] an interest was now also taken in those parts of Seram and Buru which had never been of any economic interest to the Dutch, and that efforts were made to place Seram and Buru wholly under Dutch authority and under regular colonial rule'.

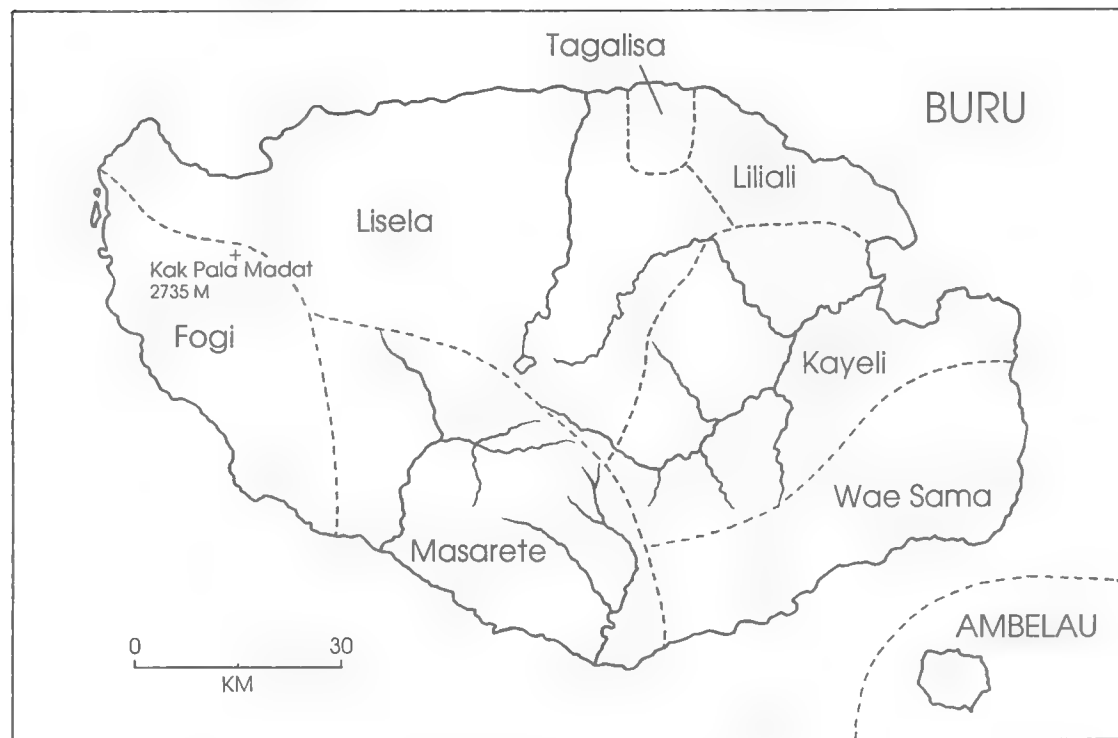
Van Fraassen also notes that no military action was necessary on Buru to obtain Pax Neerlandica as it was on Seram. During the final decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century Dutch educators and missionaries began to work on Buru, particularly on the south coast and in parts of the interior. On Buru, as elsewhere, the Dutch colonial government extended its authority by appointing native leaders to control the island.

The colonial government divided Buru into various territorial areas called *regentschap* and appointed a local leader for each area, called a *regent*. The boundaries of the *regentschap* were somewhat arbitrary in that they did not follow traditional Buru territorial divisions. As a result, the number of *regentschappen* has been modified several times. The leaders of the *regentschap* on Buru today are referred to by the Ambonese Malay term *raja*, rather than the Dutch term *regent*, and the Malay term *petuanan*¹¹ is often used instead of *regentschap*. Currently there are seven *regentschappen* on Buru, as well as one on the nearby island of Ambelau, making a total of eight *regentschappen* associated with Buru and officially recognized by the Indonesian government.

In the past the Dutch exacted *enati* (tribute) and used the *regent* in overseeing the collection of it. Today tribute is no longer collected and no longer associated with the *raja*. The primary role of a *raja*, according to *geb fuk Bururo*, is to *jaga hinolon fuk Buru* (guard the door to Buru island). There is a need for a plurality of *raja* because the island is large and has various 'doors' which need to be guarded. To understand how *raja* actually function in their role as guards of the doors of Buru, it is necessary to consider several things, including their interaction with the outside as well as with the *geb fuk Bururo*.

First, many of the men installed by the Dutch as head of a *regent-*

¹¹ This is a territorial term used on Ambon (Van Fraassen 1987, I:275). It is based on the Malay root *tuan* (lord, master).



The Regenschap of Buru, 1989

schap were not ethnically from Buru but immigrants of long standing from Buton, Sula or Makassar colonies on Buru. Most of the *raja* on Buru today claim such outside origins. In other words, *raja* have often been *geb man lau taun* ('people from across the sea'), not *geb fuk Buru* ('people from Buru island'). In *regentschap* Lisela there is a myth explaining why the *Raja* of *regentschap* Lisela is an outsider.

Once there was a *patti* Buton, a leader of the Butonese immigrants to Buru whose family name was Hentihu, and a *patti* Bessy, who was a leader of the native Buru *Nalbessy noro*. The Buton said to the *patti* Bessy:

'Let's decide who will be the *raja*. We will each get a bucket of sand and whoever has the heaviest bucket will be the *raja*.'

The *patti* Bessy agreed and then the *patti* Buton added:

'Because you are from the land, you walk landward to get sand, and because I am from the sea, I will walk seaward to get sand.'

So that is what they did and of course the wet sand of the *patti* Buton was heavier. This is why the *raja* of Lisela is an outsider, and why the Hentihu family from Buton has been *raja* for many generations.¹²

Not all *raja*, however, were or are outsiders. On the south coast of Buru in *regentschap* Masarete where there were far fewer immigrants than other places on the island, people describe what happened as *Blanda lepak Behuku saa la du puna latu* (The Dutch raised/appointed a Behuku [name of a native *noro*] to be a king). Over the years a total of four *raja* have been appointed for this *regentschap*, all of them from native *noro*. The first three were from the Behuku *noro* and the last one, who died in 1986, was from the Masbait *noro*.

Raja, then, may be either insiders or outsiders. What is important about *raja* is that, like native *matgugul* in *waktu Ternate*, they function as mediators with the outside world. *Raja*, regardless of their ethnicity, live on the coast and are meant to deal with the outside as it comes to Buru. As people on the inside see it, any outsiders who come to the island to deal with the inside should have the permission of the *raja*.

To come without it is to not have 'come through the door'. People often refuse to have any interaction with outsiders who come without the *raja*'s permission and at times are even hostile.¹³

¹² The current *Raja* of *Regentschap* Lisela is Bapa Raja Hentihu who lives in Ambon. His cousin represents him on Buru and it is generally assumed that his son or nephew will be the next *raja*. This story was told to C. Grimes on the north coast of Buru in 1989. In 1933 Jansen referred to a *timbang tanah* (Malay: weighing earth) story to explain why the *regent van licela* (a Hintihoe) was a 'Boetonneeschen usurpator'.

¹³ This is why the Indonesian government and the various lumber company operations have all had to rely heavily on the *raja* to obtain co-operation from the people of Buru. One

From the outside looking in, *raja* appear very powerful in their role as 'guards'. From an inside perspective, however, these men are meant to deal with the outside, not the inside, and they have minimal, if any, involvement with the everyday social life of the *geb fuk Bururo*. There is often very little contact between a *raja* and *geb fuk Bururo*. The outside must come to the inside through the *raja*, but in general, people on the inside do not go to the *raja*.¹⁴

These Buru ideas about *raja* can be seen in the account of the English naturalist, Henry Forbes, who carried out an expedition in the Archipelago and was on Buru in 1882. From the coast, he and his party went to the lake in the centre of the island, accompanied by the *Raja* of Kayeli. On the third day of their trek to the lake, having to walk through grassland, sago swamps and forest, Forbes describes his frustration at their slow progress and the frequent need to stop for the *raja* 'to resume his soporific smoke'. It is at this point he notes the *raja* 'had never gone the road in his life' (Forbes 1989:396).

A few *raja* have assumed a degree of power in their title and attempted to make demands on the native population for personal gain. The first recourse *geb fuk Bururo* always have when an asymmetrical relationship of power and control is being assumed by anyone, is to *peskori* (ignore, turn one's back on someone), simply to ignore the demands put upon them. If the situation continues, they have the further options of moving temporarily out to their gardens, visiting relatives in other villages, or even moving completely to another place on the island. When demands are seen as far too excessive, they occasionally take even further action. Around the early part of this century the *Raja* of *regentschap* Wae Sama was killed by Buru people because of their longstanding grievances against him. His grandson, the current *Raja*, is still said to be terrified of the *geb fuka* (mountain people) and has very little interaction with them.

The position of *raja* has thus been given its own meaning on Buru. It is a position of mediation with the outside, the position of a guard at the door from whom outsiders must gain permission to enter. To act in accordance with another definition of *raja*, to assume a different configuration of power, is inappropriate. While *raja* have territorial areas, people living within these territorial areas do not see themselves as incorporated into a political structure in which the *raja* is at the apex of authority. The political and social organization of the inside has remained, regardless of *raja*. The

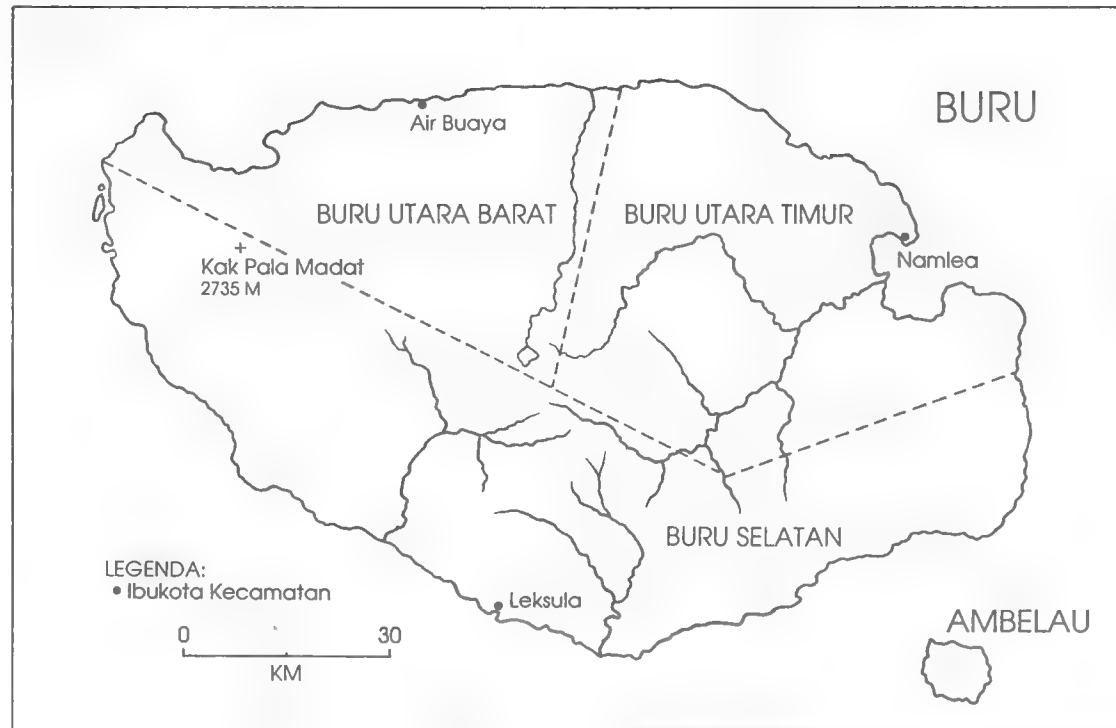
government report notes *Mereka cukup terbuka dengan orang luar, asal mendapat izin dari raja dan kepala Soa* (They are very open with outsiders, as long as they received the permission of the *raja* and kin group leader) (*Pembangunan* 1985:16).

¹⁴ Unless to express grievances about how people from the outside are treating those in the inside.

traditional territorial *noru* divisions have remained, regardless of the *regentschap* boundaries drawn and redrawn on maps of Buru by the outside. Where *raja* were appointed by the Dutch from among native Buru *noru*, this has not produced an asymmetry in internal relations among *noru*. Just as *noru* with *matgugul* could not claim that the Sultan's entitlement made them in anyway superior to other *noru*, *noru* with *raja* cannot claim that this entitlement makes them in anyway superior to other *noru*.

These various traditional ideas have thus reshaped the notion of *raja* on Buru to such an extent that in some ways the *regentschap* system could today be considered a pseudo-traditional political system. It has become traditional in the sense that it is now operating on Buru ideas and values about relationships with the outside world and Buru ideas about entitlement and power. It can also be considered traditional in the sense that, having some degree of history from before Indonesian Independence it is officially recognized by the Indonesian government today as traditional Buru *adat*. Maps of the *regentschap* hang in each of the three government district (*kecamatan*) offices on the island.

But the system is not truly traditional and today that it has no mechanism for self-perpetuation. The crucial factor in the survival of this political system is the matter of succession. In some *regentschappen* the system has been, and most likely will continue to be, perpetuated, because heredity has been the primary criterion for succession. This is the case among the immigrant Muslim *raja* who make arrangements for father-son and uncle-nephew successions. In *regentschap* Masarete, however, there has been a crisis in the system since the last *raja* died in 1986 because the principle of heredity does not work automatically among the Christian population, just as it does not work automatically in the traditional Buru political system. In the past the Dutch government took an active role in appointing not only the first *raja*, but outside involvement was also needed to appoint a new *raja* each time an old one died in this *regentschap*. Today, however, the Indonesian government is taking no such initiative. With much hesitation, the government officials for Central Maluku have let it be known that a letter will be written approving a *raja* only when they can be convinced he has local support. There have been a few individuals who have attempted to get themselves named as *raja*, but so far the government's non-involvement has stalemated the appointment of any new *raja* because there is no mechanism available for choosing a *raja* or even for indicating local support for one. To most Buru people the entitlement of a new *raja* is an issue which belongs to the outside and is of no concern to them on the inside. Without outside entitlement, the pseudo-traditional political order of *raja* and *regentschap* may not survive in the post-colonial era in the parts of Buru where there is no other principle for succession.



The *kecamatan* of Buru, 1989

Waktu Indonesia

The start of the Second World War brought the Dutch presence to an end. During the war Buru was occupied by Japanese soldiers, stationed at several places on the coast as well as in some interior villages. Men were rounded up from all over the island and their forced labour was utilized by the Japanese at the airstrip by Namlea. Following Independence at the end of the war, the Indonesian government incorporated Buru into its own national political structure and continued to operate some of the schools established earlier by the Dutch. After the 1965 political upheaval that occurred in Indonesia, an area southwest of Namlea along the lower Wae Apo river valley was chosen for interning political prisoners. The site is now the location of a large government transmigration complex.

The Indonesian local government structure presently overlaid on Buru has divided the island into three *kecamatan* with administrative towns (*ibukota kecamatan*) at Namlea, Leksula and Air Buaya. These three *kecamatan* are part of *kabupaten* Maluku Tengah which includes not only Buru but all of Seram, Ambon, Lease and other islands with the administrative centre (*ibukota kabupaten*) located at Masohi in South Central Seram.

At each *ibukota kecamatan* on Buru there are the appropriate civil, police, and military officials. The officials in the government system at this level are only rarely Buru people (either native or immigrant). Local involvement occurs at the village level where the positions of *kepala desa* (village head) and a *sekretaris desa* (village secretary) are required in the Indonesian administrative structure. Many small isolated settlements scattered through the interior of Buru are not officially recognized in this system and people are appointed to these positions only in officially recognized villages.

Over the past decades the *kepala desa* has often been a traditional leader of a House or *noro* and the most educated man in the village has held the position of *sekretaris desa*. Recently new Indonesian government educational requirements have been established for these village-level positions. Because many traditional leaders do not have these outside credentials, they are no longer able to hold these positions. The outside nature of this system has been brought into sharper focus through these new educational requirements and the necessary approval of *kepala desa* by government officials.

Once again people on Buru see this as a system requiring mediation, and mediation this time occurs at the level of the *kepala desa*. It is the village head who must walk up and down the mountains to interface with the government at the centre on the coast. Schools, teachers, census and village subsidy all require his mediation. Given the new regulations, sometimes a non-Buru such as a school teacher may be the only person living in a village

with the educational requirements to be a village head. But as a mediator with the outside, a *kepala desa* – like a *raja* – can himself be either from the inside or the outside.

In interacting with this system, Buru ideas about entitlement and power also come into play. A *kepala desa*, like any other titled person, is only able to motivate and activate others through his ability to persuade. Without an ability to speak eloquently, even the most educated village heads are ignored. Should they assume that there is an allocation of power in their title which gives them the right to order rather than to suggest and persuade, they will be resented and people will simply *peskori* (ignore/turn their backs) and avoid them.

Summary

Strong social boundaries operate at many levels in Buru society. At the highest level they define the inside from the outside, distinguishing the *geb fuk Bururo* from the *geb man lau taun*, the thousands of immigrants on the island as well as all others from 'across the sea'. Within Buru society, boundaries define a specific House and *noro* with whom individuals are affiliated. Political leadership occurs at these levels of society and is invested in *geba emngaa*, titled people, who serve as representatives and spokesmen for their House or *noro*. A person becomes entitled through the consensus of the members in his House and *noro* who 'raise him up' and give him a title. At the same time, this entitlement does not allocate power to the *geba emngaa* and his ability to control the actions of others is based on his ability to persuade them to follow his ideas or the ideas reached by consensus.

Over the years various political systems from the outside have been overlaid on Buru, resulting in an historical accumulation of titles and political structures which vary greatly from each other as well as, and from, traditional Buru society.

The relationship of *geb fuk Bururo* with the outside has thus involved changing systems and different mediators. The outside systems themselves, however, continue to be re-interpreted and responded to in terms of fundamental Buru ideas about entitlement and power. Regardless of the source of their entitlement, eloquent speech continues to be the way in which titled men effectively motivate others to action on Buru. Their power comes from their words – their ability to persuade – not from their title.

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SIMONNE PAUWELS

Sibling relations and (in)temporality Towards a definition of the House (Eastern Indonesia)

The ethnographic data on which this paper is based were collected in 1985-1986 in the village of Hursu (600 inhabitants) on the island of Selaru in the Tanimbar archipelago.¹ This archipelago, made up of some ten inhabited islands where four different languages are spoken, is part of the Moluccas in Eastern Indonesia. The ethnography (Drabbe 1940, Renwarin 1989, McKinnon 1983, 1991) concerning the islands of Yamdena and Fordata permits us to think that the analysis presented here applies in a general outline to the whole archipelago.

The importance of the sibling relations in the village society studied is undeniable: every relationship between two people, between the members of any social unit or between the members of two social units is translated either in terms of opposite-sex siblings or in terms of same-sex siblings.

We will see that the brother/sister relations, and more precisely the gift of a sister by a brother, takes charge of the flow of time, that is to say history. The relationship between 'brothers', on the contrary, takes charge of the unchanging, that which has to endure in the society without modification.

This article is centred on the social unit 'House'.² This subject is at the core of the recent studies on Eastern Indonesia (Barraud 1979, Fox 1980, Lévi-Strauss 1979, 1980) and represents a particular interest for the analysis of sibling relations: the opposite-sex sibling relations and the same-sex sibling relations are equally indispensable to the definition of the House. Only the interaction between these two sibling relations enables us to perceive what a House really is in Hursu village society.

¹ I wish to express my thanks to Stephen Headley for the correction of my English.

² From now on I will use the word House, with a capital letter, to refer to this social unit.

The brother/sister relationship³

In the Tanimbar archipelago the brother/sister relationship spreads over time and takes on a particular shape. It gives birth to an entity called *lolge* or row. This term applies to a well-ordered ensemble of Houses constituted in the following way: each House of the row remembers having received a woman of the former House and having given the daughter of that woman to the next House.

The row

The following is a description of a row as it is given by a man when he is asked to reproduce the row to which he belongs. He first cites his MB and the MB of his MB, then the House of birth of the mother of his MB's MB, then the House of birth of the mother of that woman and so on until the House of birth of the first woman given in marriage on this row. Note that he first cites individuals, his MB and the MB of his MB, then he cites Houses. The names of the MBs are quickly forgotten, only the memory of their Houses remains.

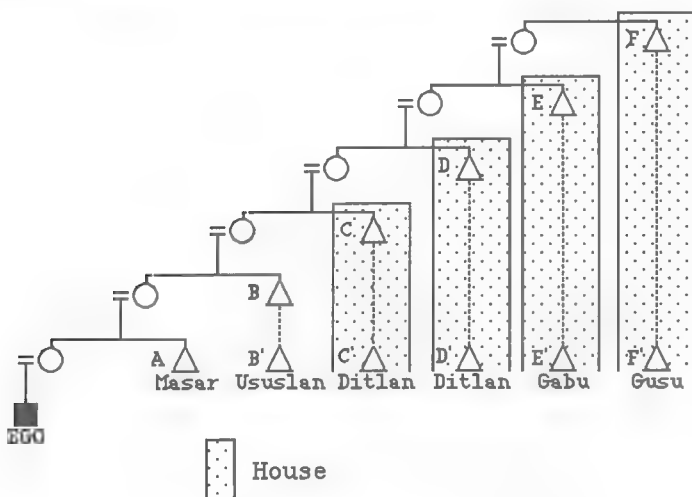


Figure 1. The row from Ego's point of view

Each position in this row has a name, Ego's MB is *masar* (he who taps the palmwine), the MB of the masar is *usus lan* (the big post). The House where the mother of the 'big post' is born is called *ditlan* (the middle). This House is preceded by a number of other *ditlan* Houses until the second House of

³ For an extended description of the brother/sister relationship see Pauwels 1990.

the row, called *gabu* (the middle of the trunk of the tree). The first House of the row is called *gusu* (the base of the tree). The gift of his sister by a man of that House is the first marriage considered by this row so that the *gusu* House is at the origin of the row. It tends to consider the row as 'its own'. These names apply not only to the Houses but also to the members of the Houses, in particular to the eldest.

Thus a row is defined by women, mothers one of another who, through their marriages, link a series of Houses. We also see, however, that these relations between Houses are taken charge of by men. This first concerns the brothers who gave the women in marriage, then their descendants who, from generation to generation, keep the row alive. We can summarize these aspects by saying that a row is defined by a succession of women, mothers one of another, given in marriage by their brothers. This definition seems to be close to the indigenous one: 'In the beginning', the people of Hursu say, 'the Houses contained both brothers and sisters. Together they formed one blood stone (*large khatuge*).' Deciding to give their sister in marriage and so inaugurating the rows, men made the blood stone shatter; henceforth 'women go down (out of the House) and men stay'. And the informants add: 'The blood stone splits in two in order that the descendants of the sister become a row, the brother stays in order to constitute a House which watches over the row.' Today, each marriage of a sister and the children born from that marriage extend the row and place the House of the brother in its role of watching over this same row.

When people speak about 'the blood of the row', the initial blood stone on which a row is founded is referred to. A woman transmits her blood to her children. Ego has the same blood as the brother/sister pairs which, through time, constituted the row. The present representatives of the row – A, B', C', D', E' and F' – speak about him as being their blood. This does not mean that they have the same blood, but that Ego's blood – the blood of the initial blood stone in fact – belongs to them, that they are responsible for him, that they have to 'watch' over him. This concern for Ego's blood is the tangible indication that the line of women is taken into account, that one bases his place on the row as the descendant of the brother of one of these women. The *gusu* House, more than the others, considers itself as in charge of this blood. For this society each brother/sister relationship is associated with the origin, with the first brother who gave his sister to the row.

In order to speak about the descendance of a sister, instead of 'my blood', one can also say 'my sister-her children' (*rachyetakw-ananare*). When a man says 'my sisters-their children' (*rachyetagure-anatare*), he means all the rows which come from women of his House. This expression 'sisters and sisters' children' places the House in the flow of time.

It is important to understand that each House is engaged in diverse rows,

these determined by the wives of its members, living or dead. Also, the men of the House have to watch actively over all the rows in which their House is engaged. An individual, alive or dead, belongs only to one row, the one constituted by the House of his mother, the House of his mother's mother, the House of his mother's mother's mother, and so on.

Watching over the rows

There are multiple occasions where Ego, man or woman, compels the members of his/her row to meet in order to 'watch over' him/her. During such meetings Ego's real MB and MB's MB will come, the *ditlan*, *gabú* and *gusu* will be represented by the eldest members of these Houses. Ego will call all these men *memi*. This word first designates his MB, his *masar*, and applies by extension to all the men of Ego's row who are of the same generation as his MB. The use of this word to designate the representatives of the Houses presents the latter as contemporary, the diachrony belonging to marriages. Besides *memi*, one uses *serimwanire* (men side, from *seri*, meaning side, and *mwan*, meaning man). This word is opposed to *serimfwetare* (women side), which indicates the inferior links on a row. Ego's 'men side' is the side of the 'brothers' who remained in the House in order to watch over him, the sister's child. Ego's 'women side' is the side to which he gave his sister in marriage in order to continue the row. In a brother/sister pair the men side is the side of the brother, the women side the side of the sister.

Being responsible for their blood, the *serimwanire* and their ancestors are said to have at their disposal the life and fecundity of their *serimfwetare*. They particularly use this prerogative when their women's side does not fulfil its obligations towards them. In everyday life these obligations consist of gifts of fish and palmwine. These prestations concern especially, but not exclusively, the MB. When someone organizes a feast or a ritual his women side must bring more important prestations, such as pigs, silver earrings, money and breastplates, all considered to be male prestations. Their circulation is oriented and opposed to the circulation of rice, textiles, bracelets and necklaces brought by the men side of the man who organizes the ritual. These prestations are female. In daily life the fish and palmwine of the women side find their counter-prestations in the gifts of garden products by the men side.

At certain occasions, such as housebuilding and funerals, each men side makes its gift individually. At other occasions, such as marriage, the prestations are gathered collectively by an ensemble from the men side called *areske* (ladder). A ladder comprises the whole row except Ego (Fig. 1) and the *masar*.

The men side intervenes in particular at the marriage of one of its sister's

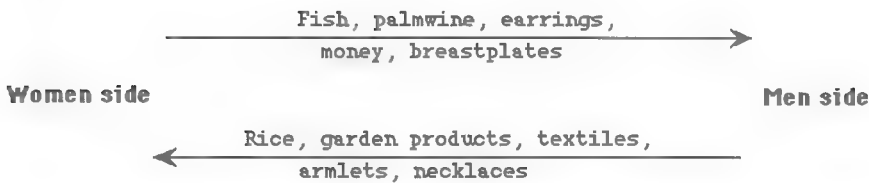


Figure 2. Oriented prestations between men side and women side

children, but it also collects the necessary valuables each time one of those commits a fault or contracts a debt. Thus it intervenes when a sister's child, son or daughter, builds a house or buys construction materials, commits a theft, a rape or adultery. The men side is responsible for the women side; they are said to 'carry' it. Inversely, it claims on behalf of the women side the compensations paid for each injustice towards a sister's child. One has to understand that in this society 'I' am never personally responsible for the faults I committed or the debts I contracted; it is my men side that is responsible. I myself, in turn, am responsible for the debts of my women side.

We have already noted that one of the men side, the *masar* or Ego's MB, occupies a special place. Indeed he is a member of the row but he is not part of the ladder. The *masar*, collector of the palmwine for the ladder of the row, establishes the link between the sister's children and the members of the row. This can be observed particularly when a man acts for the first time as a *masar* for the ladder, that is when a sister's child of a new generation appeals to his men side for the first time. That very day the men side goes to the house of the man who until now officed as the *masar*. The latter declares that from now on he acts as the *usus lan* and conducts them to the house of the new *masar* who then receives from the ladder his first payment, called 'loincloth' in order to slip in, metaphorically, a knife to be used to tap the palmwine. The *masar* of a row, the man who is responsible for the invitations and the transmissions of the valuables, has to know, better than anyone else, who is on the men side and the sister's children. He is informed of the behaviour of his sister's daughter (in cases of marriage, adultery or theft) by her brother. The *masar* will even pretend not to know as long as his nephew does not warn him. Both men can play with this possibility in order to give themselves some time to think about the problem. The image used is that of the brother of a woman going to the foot of the palmtree from which his uncle taps palmwine in order to inform him; he is called 'the one whose voice goes up'. It is clear here that even before a man is *masar* he's already active in all matters concerning his sister.

We have already seen that a row can be reconstituted by the enumeration

of the Houses of a row from the *gusu* down to the nephew of the *masar*. Another way to designate a row consists of enumerating the names of the women whose marriages are at the origin of the row. This list is then perfectly coherent with the list of Houses of the row. People use the one or the other to justify their presence and place on the row. The name of a woman on the row is always called upon in the final resort: in fact the knowledge of the name of the woman given in marriage by his House proves that a recipient is not guilty of usurpation. It is noteworthy that some rows account for some thirteen women's names, mothers of one another, whereas the genealogical memory in the patrilineal line rarely exceeds three names.

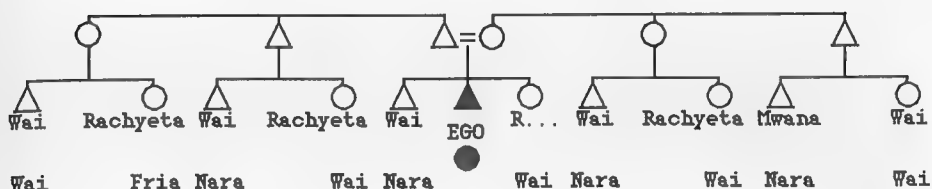
This double representation of a row, a list of women or a row of Houses, is the tangible mark that behind the women who define a row, there are men. These men, or better, their actual representatives, from time to time sit side by side during ceremonial meetings. When they gather this way it is as if the time when they gave their 'sister' is abolished, as it is when they use the term *memi*, MB, to designate the representatives. Time is somewhere else: it is in the succession of women given away, from which we know that the first one made the society step out of its mythical past where time did not flow.

Thus, time flows when a House gives a woman to another House. That the rows exist is evidence that the time passes on the Houses. But can the flow of time be seen when considering a House in isolation or when analyzing its 'content'?

The brother/brother relationship

Wai in kinship vocabulary

Before coming back to the House we will make a brief incursion into the kinship vocabulary. The primary meaning of *wai* appears here. *Wai* first designates every same-sex sibling of the speaker: my brother (male speaker) or my sister (female speaker). It extends to the parallel- and cross-cousins, except the MBS for a man (*mwana*) and FZD for a woman (*fria*). *Wai* is opposed to two distinct terms which designate the opposite-sex sibling: *rachyeta* (my sister) for a man and *nara* (my brother) for a woman. The use of these two terms extends to parallel- and cross-cousins, except the MBD for a man and the FZS for a woman. The persons corresponding to these exceptions are also *wai*. If of the opposite sex to the speaker they are designated by the same term as his same-sex siblings. The translation of *wai* by same sex-sibling is therefore unsatisfactory.



Legend : R... = Rachyeta

Figure 3. Kinship vocabulary of Ego's generation

Furthermore there exists another category of persons of the opposite sex to which Ego is linked through marriage and which he also calls *wai*. It concerns the same-sex siblings of his spouse and the spouse of Ego's same-sex sibling. *Wai* for a person of the opposite sex appears here as an affinity term.

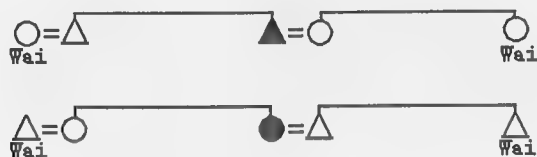


Figure 4. Opposite-sex *waire*

Nevertheless, Ego distinguishes his same-sex *wai* from his opposite-sex *wai* by adding *wamwan* (male) or *wamfwet* (female), accordingly. The distinction between elder and younger (*aus ode amur*) at Ego's generation only applies among same-sex *waire*. Their birth order, not the birth order of their parents, is the regulating principle. So every *wai* born before a male/female Ego are his/her elder (*wai auskwe*). Likewise, every *wai* born after him/her are his/her younger (*wai amurgye*). One will notice that the attributes male, female, elder and younger are reducible. The primordial feature is *wai*.

Awaire in the House

Let us return to the social unit House. It is said that it gathers the descendants of one ancestor. The children belong, under particular conditions, to the House of their father. Upon marriage a son stays in his father's House and a daughter leaves her's to join her husband's.

In a House all the men of one generation, Bs and FBSs, real and classificatory, are *wai* to each other. All together they are *awaire*, a noun which can be translated as 'being *waire*' (*waire* is the plural of *wai*). Furthermore,

their spouses are *awaire* to each other, they are *wai* one to another 'because they married *waire*'. They are also *wai wamfwet* for all the men of the House of the same generation as their husband. Thus, if one considers, for example, one generation in the House (with the exception of the unmarried daughters destined to leave the House) one encounters only one kinship term: *wai*.

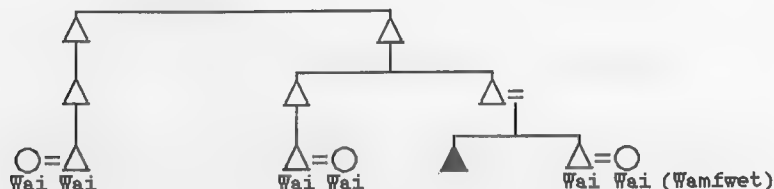


Figure 5. House-*waire*

A man uses the kinship vocabulary to distinguish between his father, *ama*, his grandfather, *ebu*, and his brother, *wai*; thus he acknowledges the existence of different generations. Nevertheless when the same man qualifies the relations which unite all members of his House, irrespective of its generations, he says that they are all *awaire*.⁴ Thus, the content of a House is not thought of as a lineage (for which there is no local term) nor as a succession of generations in a patrilineal line, but as an ensemble of *awaire*. Once again the translation of *wai* as same-sex sibling proves to be too restrictive. In fact it appears that the House in its wider sense is able to assimilate other persons, either through marriage or by transcending the distinction between generations.

So, within the House the *awaire* relationship presents two major particularities: on the one hand it transcends the distinction between the generations and between the sexes; on the other, the distinction between elder/younger remains paramount. More precisely, the eldest opposes all the other men, his youngers. The eldest is the eldest descendant of the eldest son of the first ancestor of the House.

His quality as the eldest manifests itself mainly in his relations with the ancestors of the House. These ancestors are all the dead *waire* of the House. They are referred to by the following expression: *awaire mtu o mrau* (literally 'the *awaire*, old up to dry'). Indeed, they are all represented either by vertebrae which, in the past, were taken from the corpses after decomposi-

⁴ This concerns not only the men of a House but also their spouses who are involved by marriage with these *awaire*.

tion, or by thumbnails which, nowadays, are removed before burial. The indestructible *awaire* relationship is symbolized by the vertebrae or nails of the ancestors, these imperishable parts of their bodies merging with the quality of ancestor. All these remains, images of the House ancestors, that is *awaire* ancestors, are kept in a sacred basket which is the House elder's responsibility. He keeps it in his room hanging from the main beam. Also kept in his room, in a large basket, are two distinct categories of valuables: the inalienable valuables or heirlooms of the House, and the alienable valuables of the House. These two categories of valuables deserve our attention because they illustrate in a different way the rows, the brother/sister relations and the *awaire* relationship.

The heirloom valuables

The inalienable valuables are a constituent element of the House, without them a House is not really a House. Their origins, always marked by mythology, are part of the history of the House. The valuables may include earrings, necklaces, *keris*, textiles, elephant tusks, pendants or porcelain. They have a proper name. They are said to 'weigh down the House' (*ka-mdedan segye*), that is their presence or absence influences the 'great name' (*anigelan*) of the House.⁵ These heirlooms are the subject of numerous rules: they cannot be seen nor touched without permission from the House elder. In case of a jewel, only *awaire* of the House may wear it. The precautions go even further: if the (wo)man who wears it, is not living in the eldest's dwelling, then the ancestors must be informed that the jewel is temporarily going to be absent. These valuables cannot, of course, be given away or sold. At least once a year the eldest of the House has to bath them in coconut water in order to 'cool them off'. Otherwise, it is said, their heat might strike the children and make them ill. The eldest must also regularly give them betel quids and inform them of every birth in the House. The transgression of these prohibitions or the omission of these obligations towards the heirlooms would result in the *awaire* being made ill by the valuables. Illness imparted by a heirloom is described as possession, the sick person is delirious. This action of the valuables has a proper verb: *k-syesal*. An important particularity of these valuables is their power of possession: the House ancestors are said to reside in them. When the valuables are badly treated the ancestors go and inhabit the body of the culprit to make him delirious. The heirlooms of the House are thus clearly associated with the renown of the *awaire*.

⁵ They also 'weigh down' the village; they appear in the (war)songs proclaiming its renown.

The alienable valuables

The alienable valuables are very important for the House too because their presence also contributes to its 'great name' and that of the *awaire*. A House without alienable valuables is a 'House through which one can see' (*syak sobil segye*), it is empty or without name (*lema giga anige*). This means that, like slaves, the House is without social relations or exchange partners. Indeed, the alienable valuables of a House come from the exchanges with the men side and the women side of the different rows which run through the House. Some of these valuables are highly valued, others less so. A man (in fact a House) may decide to give such a valuable to his exchange partner if he considers that one 'sees through his partner's House as if it were only wind'. Most of the time it is a House in the position of men side which makes this gift in order to 'weigh down' the House. The given valuable will become 'the bone of the House' (*segye klurige*) for the receiver, something that gives the House substance. A certain permanence is attributed to the quality of the bone of the House. This permanence comes from the fact that the reciprocal gift of another valuable becomes in turn a bone of the House, until the next exchange. A House with valuables is an exchange partner, it is no longer 'empty' of relations, it exists. It is even said that the valuables themselves oblige their holders to give them away, in other words, to be exchange partners. Essential to the life of these valuables is their circulation. It is said that a valuable which does not move from one House to another 'dies'.⁶ It is also said that one can hear the valuables crying inside the big basket when it is time for them to be given away. One could say the same about the House: when it is not exchangeable, it dies.

The eldest and his relations with the ancestors

When the eldest of a House decides to part with a valuable, he takes it in his hands, he sniffs it, puts it on his head, rubs it on his forehead 'as if he gave away his heart'. The sense of such gestures derives from the holder's 'soul', which is said to reside in the valuable. We can see here that if the heirlooms are inhabited by the ancestors' souls, then the alienable valuables are besieged by the souls of the living. A live person's soul is said to find 'strength' in valued valuables. It increases the person's talent to speak the 'deep language' (*tun demdemge*),⁷ and 'weigh down his name' (*kamdedan anige*). The first attribute is very important in exchanges because it forces a partner to give the valuable he is holding but which you desire. To be able to

⁶ One pretends to recognize a 'dead' silver earring by its black colour.

⁷ The 'deep language' is a language which is mainly metaphoric and spoken in rituals and exchanges. In Indonesian it is called *bahasa ke dalam*, the language towards the inside. Example: *metmetke gignam bobokke*, black eats white, which means the pencil writes on the sheet of paper.

speak the deep language requires and shows great knowledge of the multiple exchange relations in which the members of the society are involved. Knowledge of the debts contracted by ancestors is required in order to identify exchange partners. Also required is knowledge of all other exchanges by one's partners in which one is not involved in order to know when and which valuables reach the partners' House. The eldest of the House, that is he who is in charge of the House's valuables, is the one who inherited this knowledge from his father. His mastery of the deep language is attributed to the fact that it is he who holds both the sacred basket containing the ancestors' remains and images, and the big basket of valuables. He is what in Indonesian is called *tempat bicara* (place of speech).⁸ It is he who speaks with the ancestors, addresses prayers and offerings and it is he who, during the exchanges, translates the ancestors' words and will. The deep language is in fact the ancestors' language.

The reputation of a House as an exchange partner depends also on the ability of the eldest to carry out the totality of his tasks. One of these, and by no means the least, is to locate amongst his youngers sources of less valued valuables. Since these youngers cannot be coerced, he depends on his verbal skills to remind them that as members of one House they own everything in common⁹, whatever the origin of the goods.¹⁰ Each time an eldest acts as the representative and 'place of speech' of his House in exchanges, he begins by convening his youngers to his dwelling place where he explains the situation and convinces them of his well-founded demand. Once the youngers have agreed to the proposed gift of specific valued valuables they must gather up, if needed, some less valued valuables from their nuclear families. Therefore, the eldest has not only to keep track of these valuables during their circulation between Houses, he has also to remember the small exchanges which take place, for example, between a younger and his father-in-law, between a younger – builder of houses – and his client. This intelligence is essential if his House is to be seen by outsiders as a solid ensemble of *awaire* and therefore as a desirable exchange partner.

⁸ A younger of the House cannot be entrusted with the sacred basket and the valuables except when the eldest refuses his responsibilities. When this happens the younger becomes 'place of speech'. Nowadays young people frequently undertake modern studies. An eldest is never allowed such an ambition; he is destined for the tasks we are describing.

⁹ A House owns, apart from the (in)alienable valuables, for example land, coconut plantations, bamboos, reefs or boats.

¹⁰ In daily life, nobody can refuse to share money or any goods he holds with one of his House *awaire* who so requests. Among *awaire* a sale transaction is impossible. Some men are, for example, house- or boatbuilders. These skills are paid. The eldest member of the House may demand of his youngers that they add these incomes to the exchange circuit. It is interesting to note that the House ancestors are said to protect the builders' tools. Therefore a part of the builder's payment is destined for the ancestors.

The younger and relations with the god

The younger are not only a source of goods for the exchanges. At least one of them is in charge of another responsibility in the House. Because the eldest cannot divert his attention from the ancestors, a younger (usually the man who follows the eldest in birth order) is in charge of the relationship with the god. He prays and makes offerings. It is most important that this man be a good speaker.

The god, called Hula/Sou, Moon/Sun or Woman/Man, seems relatively passive in character compared to the ancestors. Nevertheless his acquiescence must always precede interaction with the ancestors. Therefore, before the eldest can ask for the ancestors' assistance with, for example, crop growth, a younger must convince the god of the necessity with offerings and speech. Strictly speaking, the god does not make the crop grow but he allows the ancestors to do so. Hearing the prayers of a younger at Hursu, one notices that being a good speaker depends not so much on the deep language but rather on his persuasiveness and if needed, lies!¹¹ He seeks the god's indulgence or kindness which is the condition for the ancestors' action.

Seen from within, the House delegates the responsibilities for good relations with the ancestors and the god to the eldest and a younger. Furthermore, the eldest of the House is responsible for the respect for the goods owned in common by the House's members. The great name of the House depends on the quality of all these relations. A definition of the House as an ensemble of *awaire* is nevertheless incomplete as its great name or reputation allows the House to take its place in the network of exchange relations between all Houses.

The members of the society themselves do not dissociate the *awaire* House from the exchanging House. For them the first appeared at the same time as the second. They say, as we have seen above, that at the beginning of time men made the blood stone shatter by giving their sisters in marriage. They give as a direct consequence of this that 'the descendants of the sisters became as many rows' and that 'the brothers stayed in order to constitute Houses which watch over the rows'. The timelessness of the *awaire* relationship gives an indestructible, unchanging and permanent nature to the House. This permanence, linked to reputation, permits the House to fulfil its ultimate function: to watch, through the exchange of valuables, over the everlastingness of the sisters' children's Houses. It is nevertheless important to notice here that when a House is said to watch over the rows,

¹¹ Renwarin (1989:48, 73, 138) describes the second brother as the substitute, the delegate of his eldest brother. He is talkative and lively whereas his elder brother is 'too shy and not adroit'. He is the organizer of activities among the younger siblings. In Hursu village I did not encounter the same characteristics: they are both far from shy but they speak in a different way.

this qualification places the House in the position of a men side on the rows. This men side, we have seen, is the one which displays life in the form of a flow of blood to the women side of the same row. A temporary definition of the House would then be that it is a indissociable entity, made up of living and dead *awaire* with their heirlooms and alienable valuables, their land, coconut plantations... and their women side or sisters' descendance.

But it is also necessary to reason the reverse and to consider the House when it occupies the women side position. The following sentence of an informant sums this point of view up perfectly: 'We live thanks to the *awaire* relation; but there are two ways: the *awaire* live thanks to their men side'. The last part of the sentence situates the House in the position of women's side, dependent on the gifts of life of other Houses. Thus a real definition of the House also has to take into account the brother/sister relations of the past (the men side) and of the present and the future (the women side), that is the flow of time as opposed to the timelessness where the past and present members of the House intermingle.

Articulation of the two sibling relationships

The fact that people are aware of the coexistence of these two sibling relationships is visible in certain exchange rituals during which a given man occupies varying positions: when he finds himself at the articulation of the brother/sister relationship and the *awaire* relations. It concerns the MB. From his behaviour in the exchanges one can infer whether or not he considers that time has passed. In order to illustrate this point we need to look briefly at the marriage relationship.

The marriage relationship as awaire relationship

Upon marriage there are not only complex exchanges between the men sides of both the husband and the wife (Pauwels 1990:13-4), but there are also exchanges of valuables between their Houses. The latter conclude all the transactions concerning the marriage. For the occasion, the two Houses bring palmwine, mix it and the members of both Houses drink. A prayer helps to understand the signification of this ritual: 'We, the officiants, have mixed the blood, they are one single man now, both Houses became *awaire*'. Thus, the marriage partners are not qualified as wife-givers and wife-takers, nor did both Houses become men side and women side. Globally the Houses consider each other as one single House of *awaire*, as one single man. This is a way of saying that in this newly established relationship time has not yet flowed.

In practice, it is the new brothers-in-law in particular who are going to 'live with' their new relation as *awaire*, even if, according to the kinship

vocabulary, they are not *wai* to each other but *mwana*. It is a fact that there is some embarrassment between them, comparable to the one which governs elder/younger brothers. The wife's brother is similar to the eldest, he shows a little more self-confidence and is more talkative than the husband. The latter restricts himself to short answers while looking at the ground. One has the impression that both would prefer not to meet. Nevertheless, when they live in harmony they hide their embarrassment behind jokes. And, as if they wanted to stress their *awaire* relationship, these jokes always concern their community of goods. For example, one of them pretends to take an item from the House of the other without asking permission, saying: 'Anyway, what is yours is mine and what is mine is yours'.

The *awaire* relationship between brothers-in-law is also practiced during rituals. Thus, when the House of one of them is the centre of a ritual during which a feast is served, the other discreetly inspects the kitchen to make sure that there is no lack of rice or fish for this meal. If need be, he makes up for what is lacking, exactly as the House *awaire* do. If fish and rice are part of the oriented gifts between exchange partners, a brother-in-law does not take it into account.

Later, when the children of the brothers-in-law marry according to the preferential marriage with the maternal cross-cousin, one will say that the wife 'married the gentle way' (*isa lublub*). This means that there will be no difficulty in receiving the bridewealth, which is in this case called 'the bridewealth of the *awai*' (*hes awagye*).

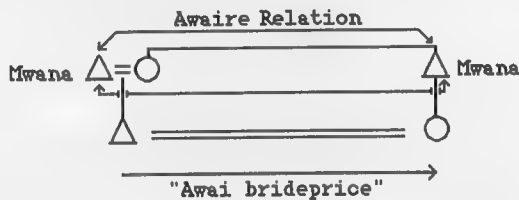


Figure 6. Part of the bridewealth of a marriage of cross-cousins

This expression refers to an *awaire* relationship that existed before the marriage, that which concerns the fathers of the husband and wife. The next case shows, on the one hand, that the *awaire* relationship between brothers-in-law lasts all their lives, and, on the other, that it is not transmitted to the next generation.



Figure 7. The lasting aware relationship between brothers-in-law

When a man (X') does not marry the daughter of his mother's brother (Y), but his son (X'') marries Y's granddaughter, then one says that for X and Y the brideprice is an *awai* bridewealth, and that they will discuss it in the gentle way. The informants not only specify that for X' and Y' it is not a *awai* bridewealth, but they will try to soften things by saying that at the time of X's marriage there was no nubile woman in Y's House, so they can maintain today that it is a gentle marriage.

If the *awai* relationship qualifies behaviour between brothers-in-law for the rest of their lives, what about the relations between the other members of the two Houses?

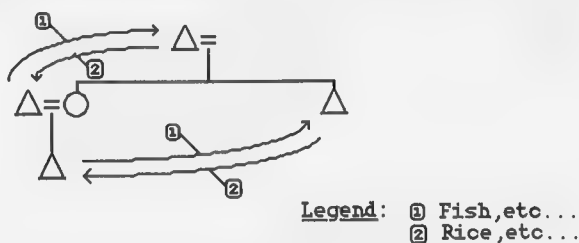


Figure 8. Son-in-law/father-in-law oriented gifts are the same as sister's son/mother's brother and women side/men side

After his marriage the son-in-law has to bring part of his fishing and hunting game to his father-in-law. The latter has to compensate for the lack of vegetable food in the house of his son-in-law. Thus we find between them the same exchange relations as between members of one row. When the father-in-law organizes a ritual, the son-in-law brings him the gift of a pair of earrings, some money or a pig. When the son-in-law is the organizer of a ritual, his father-in-law gives him a textile gift. It is important to notice here that the oriented gifts of fish, rice, etc. appear as soon as there is a generation difference between exchange partners: father-in-law/son-in-law.

With time the new married couple gives birth to a child. The one who

was up to this point only a brother-in-law (the wife's brother) becomes a maternal uncle. The same difference of generation between a father-in-law and his son-in-law is now found between him and his sister's child. And they present each other with the same oriented gifts. From now on the brother-in-law/MB will come twice to rituals organized by the House into which his sister married. As brother-in-law he first discreetly supplements the lack of food in the kitchen and then, as MB, he appears publicly with a textile gift. In doing this he acts in the same way as the rest of the men side of his sister's child.

During the rituals organized by the House of the brother-in-law/MB, the brother-in-law, the sister's husband, will come into the kitchen with fish and rice. Later in the day, his children will publicly appear with gifts of earrings, money or pigs. The roles of brother-in-law and MB are held by one single man, whereas the roles of brother-in-law and nephew are always assumed by two men of the same House: a father and his son.

The mother's brother as awai

Remember that on a row the MB occupies a special position. He and his sister's children are not part of the ladder, as are the other members of the row. As *masar* he is responsible for the reciprocal gifts between his sister's children and the members of the ladder.

This particular role of the MB is confirmed by another fact: it happens that his nephew has to offer a meal to the members of the ladder after they have watched over him, that is once they have gathered valuables in order to give them to the offended, so as to repair his faults, such as theft or adultery. These exchanges were vital to the nephew in so far as they saved him from being put to death or reduced to slavery. The MB always stands by his nephew when organizing the meal for the members of the ladder. He is behaving exactly in the same way as the members of the House of his nephew. He acts as *awai*, bringing fish and rice. In fact, each time a man stands in front of the members of his ladder, the House of his MB totally merges with his own House. We could formulate this in another way: each time a man meets the demands of his opposite-sex relationships developed in the rows, the House of his MB reinforces the same-sex relations (*awaire*) which govern inside his House. At the same time the MB denies the flow of time or the generation difference between him and his nephew.

The brother-in-law/MB finds himself at the pivot of the two sibling relationships. He always acts as an *awai* towards his sister's husband. For his sister's children he is first of all their mother's brother, not a brother-in-law of their father. Nevertheless he may adapt his role to one relationship or the other, depending on whether the flow of time is marked by the presence of the ladder or not.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis has demonstrated that, for the Hursu village society, sibling relationships are complementary both in the management of time and in the definition of the House. The opposite-sex sibling relationship links persons and Houses with the origin, whereas the same-sex sibling relationship places a House and its members in their timelessness and permanence. The House appears as the result of its external relations (the rows), constantly renewed through the exchange of valuables, as well as its internal relationships (*awaire*), and symbolized by the permanent heirlooms. Furthermore we have seen that the limits of the House coexist with the limits of the *awaire* relationship. That is to say that in contexts where the *awaire* relationship extends as far as the MB, to the detriment of the relations of membership of the same row, the two Houses, the uncle's and the nephew's, act as one single House. These contexts result from specific actions of the nephew and his ladder: a nephew whose life is imperilled is dependent on the life-gifts from his ladder. This situation is similar to the one we described elsewhere (Pauwels 1990:23-4) concerning the closure of a row. There we saw members of a row becoming row *awaire* or *awaire lolge*, after the marriage of the eldest of the *gusu* House with the daughter of the sister of the *masar* of the row. This marriage reverses the direction of the circulation of women and blood, and would logically induce the death of the members of the row. Only a few dare to provoke the hermaphrodite god, the ultimate source of life and fecundity, in this way. It seems that it is only by setting themselves up as a supra-House that the members of a same row are able to take up that challenge.

As far as life and death are concerned, the members of the society have recourse to the creation of an *awaire* entity which exceeds the limits of a simple House through the subordination of the men side/women side relationship governing the protagonists. It is only in this way that they can face up to an entity which dispenses life or death: a row or a god.

The *awaire* House, as well as the other two *awaire* entities, appear to be receptacles of life. The House in the row, as well as the row and the god, are dispensers of life.

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CÉCILE BARRAUD

Introduction to a comparative study of two kinship vocabularies in the Moluccas

This paper is based on data collected by Jacob W. Ajawaila in the Galela society of Northern Halmahera (Ajawaila 1988) together with as yet unpublished material collected in 1989 (Ajawaila, personal communication) on the one hand, and on data from my own fieldwork in Kei society (Barraud 1979) on the other.¹ It attempts to compare societies through their systems of kinship and marriage and, more specifically, their kinship vocabularies. It focuses mainly on the elder brother-younger brother and brother-sister relationships, and is intended to contribute to the discussion of the significance of these elementary kinship relationships in the structure of Southeast Asian societies.

It is also part of an examination of the importance of the brother-sister relationship in the ideologies of Melanesian or Indonesian societies, an ongoing discussion between members of the research group ERASME in Paris.²

The particular issue raised here, of special relevance for Eastern Indonesian societies, is the appropriateness of classical concepts such as those of clan, lineage, linearity, marriage alliance or alliance, cognatic societies, etc. employed in social anthropology for a study of a number of societies, in which the use of these concepts, from experience, is indeed problematic.

Having had the opportunity to study material on Galela society and to compare it with that on Kei society and, struck by some similarities as well

¹ I am indebted to the organizers of the seminar on Halmahera Research for this opportunity they offered to discuss comparatively. I wish to thank also Prof. Signe Howell, Prof. D. de Coppet and Dr A. Iteanu for their criticisms on different versions of the text, and Dr Sarah Skar for her help with the English version. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Louis Dumont for his comments on this research.

Fieldwork in Kei was carried out in 1971-73, 1978, 1985 and 1992, under the auspices of the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia and in co-operation with the Pattimura University in Ambon. The research during the first fieldwork was supported by the Laboratoire d'Ethnologie et de Sociologie Comparative de l'Université Paris X, that during the others by the ER 262, ERASME, of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

² Equipe de Recherche d'Anthropologie Sociale: Morphologie, Échanges, UPR 262, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

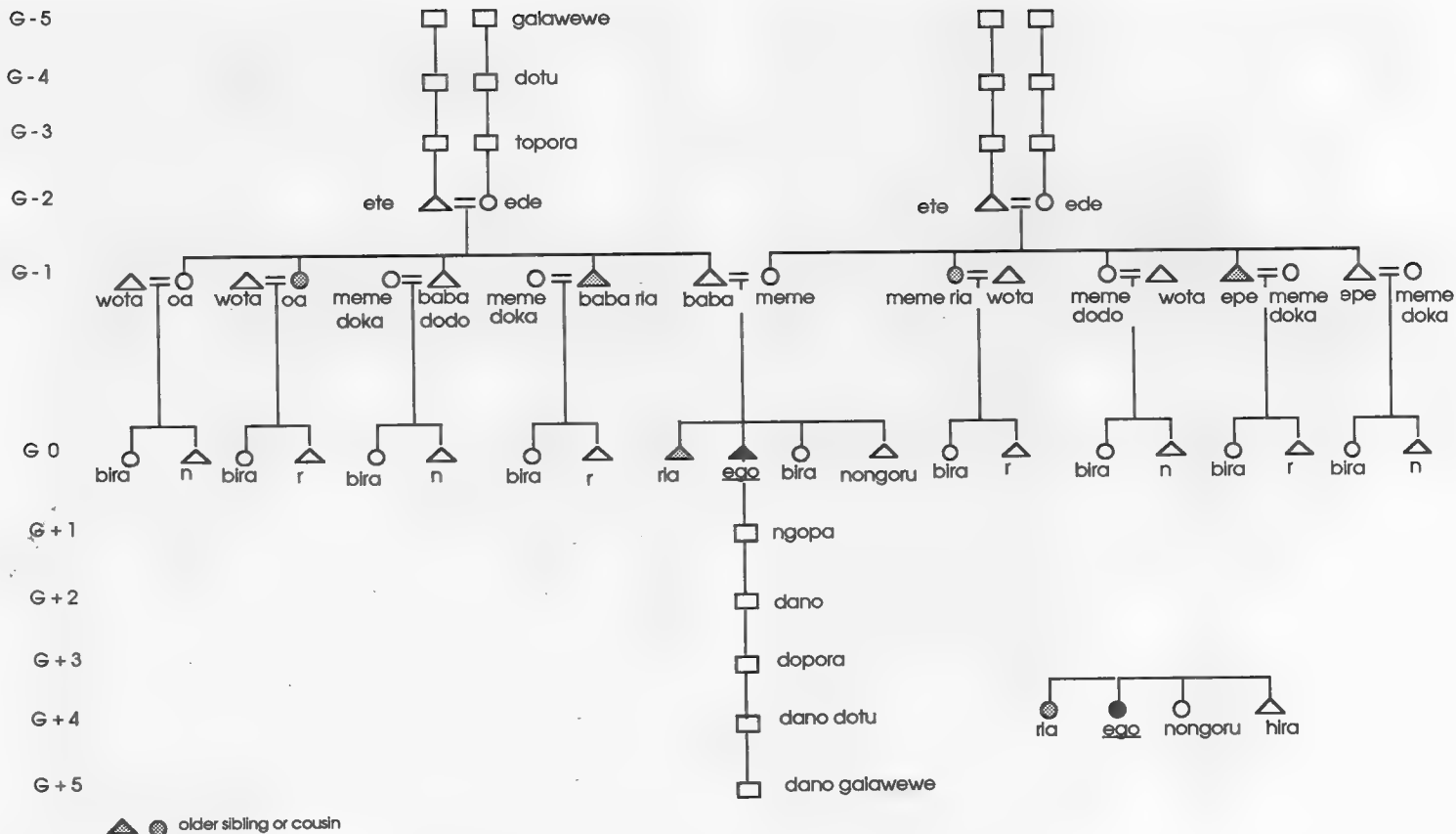


Table 1. Galela

as by great differences, I found it appropriate, keeping within the Seminar objectives, to introduce a short essay on the comparison of a southern and a northern Moluccan society although, I wish to make it clear, I do not have first-hand experience of northern Moluccan societies.

As far as systems of kinship and marriage are concerned, the main differences between Galela and Kei societies are, at first sight, to be found primarily in the respective absence or presence of permanent exchange units, of positive marriage rules and asymmetrical marriage. The main similarities are an emphasis on agnatic ties, a high value attributed to the wife's kin in the relationships created by a marriage, and a clear distinction made between the types of valuables and goods contributed by the husband's side and by the wife's side respectively in the marriage exchanges.

Attempts at comparing Eastern Indonesian societies have been made on the basis of their language (Austronesian or non-Austronesian) or of their social structure (mainly contrasting their marriage systems, i.e. asymmetrical alliance or negative rules), ending by classifying societies by means of their differences with respect to a specific anthropological issue. However, how are we to account for their differences if we are to compare societies as wholes, that is with respect to their systems of ideas and values? What structural features of each society can be revealed by the analysis of their differences? To answer these questions, one can attempt to compare societies through the analysis of their kinship vocabularies, as far as one considers kinship vocabularies as constituting a system (i.e. an ordered whole, Dumont 1971:21-32). In this respect, one might expect the analysis of the differences to yield some insights into each society's ideology. This paper, as a sort of exercise, endeavours to explore this proposition.

In the comparison of Galela and Kei kinship vocabularies, I will concentrate on three generations, G 0, G-1 and G+1. The principles at stake in the construction of the ascending and descending generations from -2 and +2 onwards are different from those ordering these three generations. As this paper is not intended as a complete analysis but rather as an introduction to the theme, I set aside these wider considerations for the time being. In my description of the vocabularies, I use the terms 'kin' and 'affines' as referring, on an empirical level, to terminological kin and affines.

In Galela and Kei vocabularies³ (see Table 1 and 2), one observes at Ego's generation a distinction between elder and younger same-sex siblings and cousins on the one hand, and opposite-sex siblings and cousins, without consideration of age, on the other. The former distinction is expressed by two terms of relative sex (Kei: *a'an*, *warin*, Galela: *ria*, *nongoru*). In Kei, the

³ All terms studied here are terms of reference only.

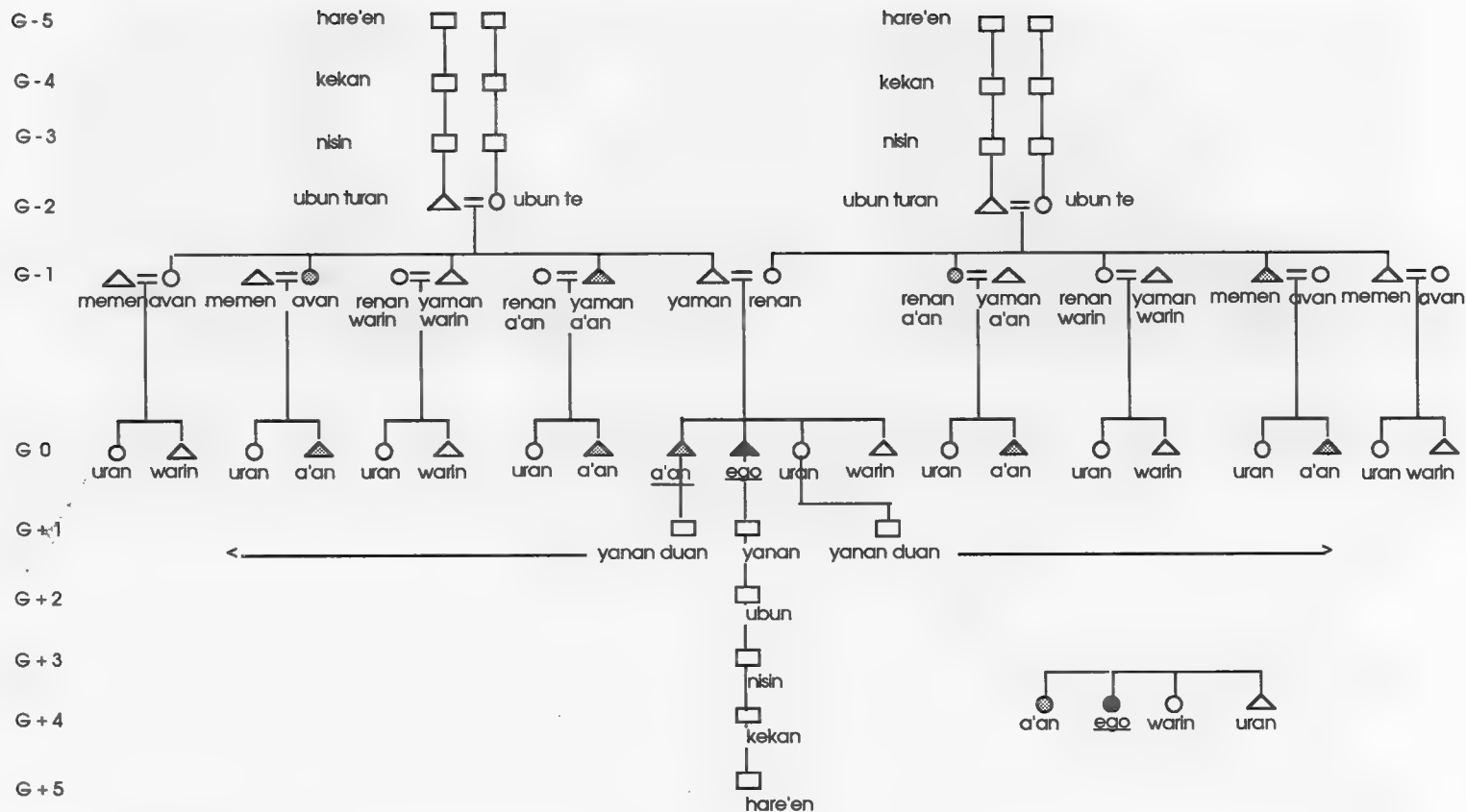


Table 2. Kei

latter distinction is expressed by one self-reciprocal term, while in Galela two terms are used to designate the male and the female siblings (Kei: *uran*; Galela: *bira* (sister, for a male Ego), *hira* (brother, for a female Ego)). In both societies the age rank of cousins is determined by their parents' birth order. I will come back to this point later.

At the parents generation (-1), in both vocabularies, two terms designate the father and the mother and their respective same-sex siblings (Kei: *yaman*, *renan*; Galela: *baba*, *meme*). The relative age rank of the latter can be distinguished by an additional term. In Galela, while the term characterizing the older position (FeB, MeS) is the same as that used at Ego's generation to designate eSb (*ria*), the term used for the younger position differs from the one used in G 0 and means 'young' in general (*dodo*). Although the principle for the distinction is the same in both generations (birth order), an emphasis is put by Ego on seniority at his parents' generation, the parents' youngest siblings being classified as 'young' in general, as if outside of a specific elder-younger sibling relationship, characterized by the terms *ria-nongoru*. This is not the case in Kei vocabulary, where the elder-younger distinction is marked at the parents' generation by the same terms as at Ego's generation.

In both vocabularies, the father's and mother's opposite-sex siblings are distinguished, each by a distinct term, FZ and MB (Kei: *avan*, *memen*; Galela: *oa*, *epe*).

In Kei, the same four terms apply to the spouses of the parents' siblings (spouse of a father is a mother, spouse of MB is FZ, and vice versa, see Table 3). In Galela, all parents' sisters' husbands are designated by the same term *wota*, while all parents' brothers' wives are designated by the term *meme doka*. In Galela, they may also be referred to by a descriptive term, spouse of this or that parent (Table 4). One should note that while no distinction is made in Kei between parents' siblings and parents' affines, such a distinction is found in Galela.

In both vocabularies, whatever the distinction between opposite-sex siblings and same-sex siblings made at the parents' generation, it is not marked by a distinction between cousins at Ego's generation: cross-cousins are not differentiated from parallel cousins nor from siblings. While one would generally expect to find a different term for cross-cousins when the father is distinguished from the mother's brother, in this case it may be argued that the sex distinction occurring at the parents' generation is constructed following the central distinctions made at Ego's generation, and not the reverse. The use of specific terms for father's sister and mother's brother does not imply primarily an opposition between the father's kin and the mother's kin, it underlines the opposite-sex-sibling relationship between the father and his sister on the one hand, and the mother and her brother

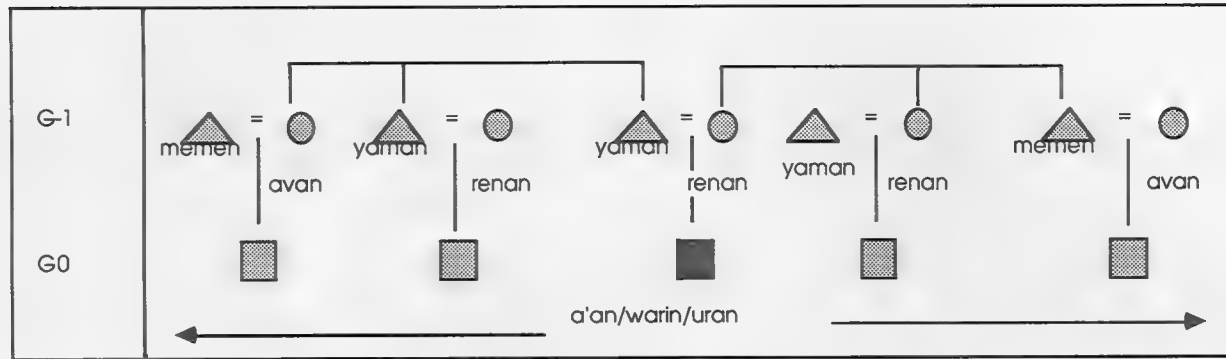


Table 3. Kei kinship vocabulary for Ego's first ascending generation

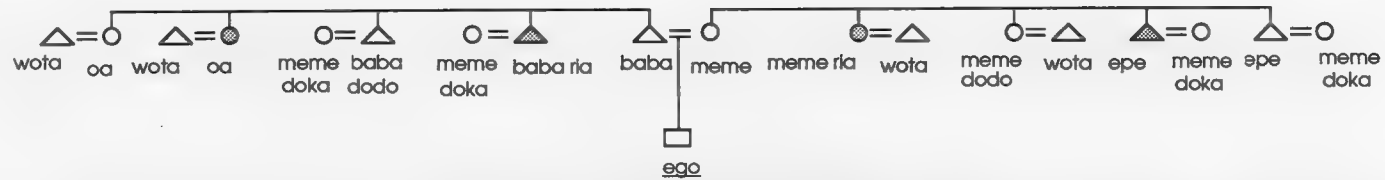


Table 4. Galela kinship vocabulary for Ego's first ascending generation

on the other. This construction thus gives particular importance to Ego's generation in these systems, and to the relations which organize it, namely elder-younger same-sex-sibling and opposite-sex-sibling relationships.

However, the classification of same-sex cousins into elder and younger at Ego's generation is not determined by their genealogical order but by that of their parents: FeBS is eB, MyZS is yB for a man. This means that while brother and sister are not classified according to their age, their age is taken into account to classify their children: FZS is either eB or yB of a man depending on the age of FZ in relation to the father's age.

As a result, although only one distinction is needed in Kei to construct the G-1 generation, that of opposite-sex siblings⁴ (to which is added that of parents' affines in Galela), at Ego's generation, the classification of cousins is made first according to the sex distinction, then, among same-sex cousins, according to the age distinction operating at a different generation, that of the parents (G-1). One can remark here that although the vocabulary does not make any difference between same-sex siblings and cousins (the same terms are used), they are in fact differentiated by the way their position in the elder-younger relationship is determined ('true' same-sex siblings are classified following their birth order). This might be an explanation of the fact that children and siblings' children are differentiated in the vocabulary in Kei, *yanan* and *yanan duan*, respectively.

It seems that the relative age distinction in G-1 takes precedence over the sex distinction in order to classify parents' siblings' children. The age distinction made in G-1 is needed to construct the relationships in G 0 while the sex distinction made in G-1, to some extent, is no longer taken into account. As a general rule, the primacy of the sex distinction in the ordering of one generation disappears to the benefit of the age distinction in the relationship between two generations.

Another fact qualifies the age distinction and it is to be found in some general expressions used to speak of one's kin. In Galela, an expression designates all siblings and cousins of one's own generation, and it is formed with the term for younger sibling only, *gia ma nongoru* (*gia*: one hand, *nongoru*: 'together', that is, the community). It is as if siblingship or membership of a class of relatives or of a community could be expressed only by the relationship of an elder Ego with his younger sibling, thus giving another value or meaning to the fact of being older in these respects.

Among the Kei, when speaking of the same-sex-sibling relationship, one uses the expression *ya'an-war*, in associating the two terms elder and

⁴ Indeed, the main distinction is between the father and the mother's brother, and between the mother and the father's sister. The distinction between elder and younger siblings is expressed by a suffix to the main terms, father and mother, which marks its lesser importance, linguistically speaking.

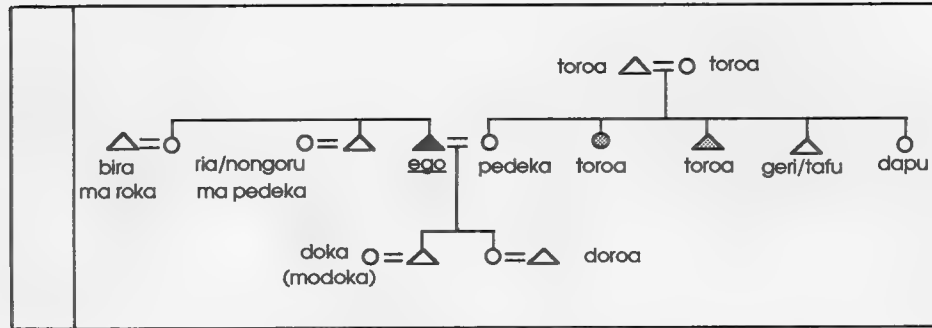


Table 5a. Galela affinal terms for a male ego

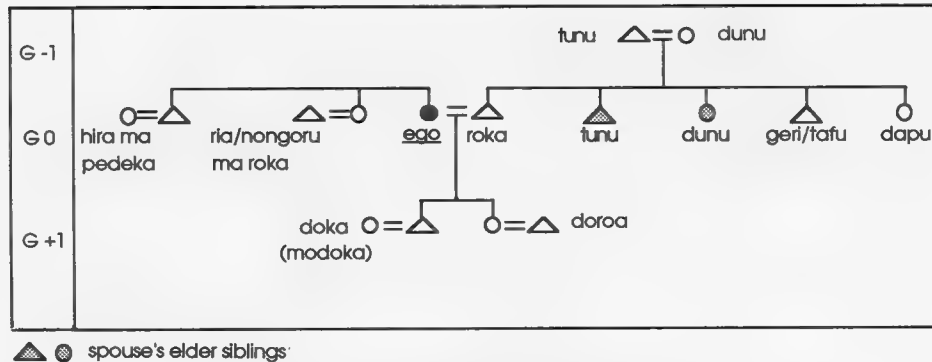


Table 5b. Galela affinal terms for a female ego

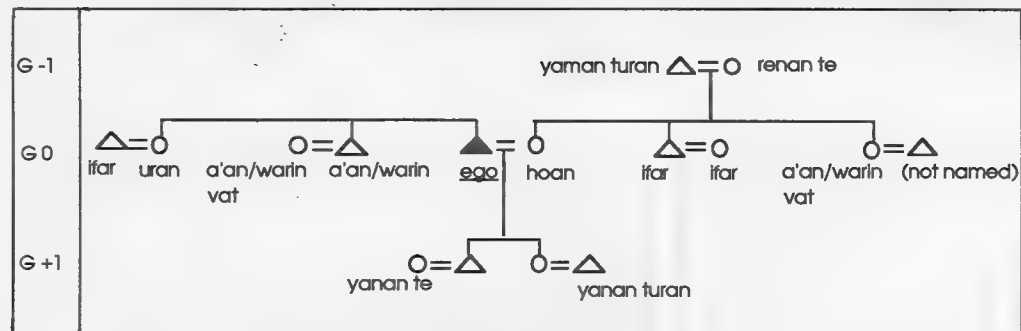


Table 6a. Kei affinal terms for a male ego

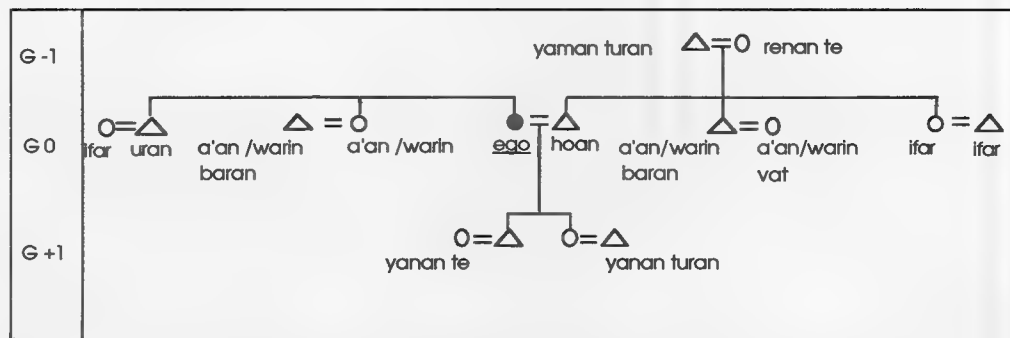


Table 6b. Kei affinal terms for a female ego

younger. It means: they are brothers (referring to two men) or sisters (referring to two women). In speaking of siblings, the expression is *ur-war*, from *uran* and *warin*. Only the younger sibling is mentioned, as if the opposite-sex sibling was in fact the older one, and as if seniority was excluded from the notion of siblingship. I do not have any information about an expression of this type in Galela.

Concerning the terms used for relatives by marriage, we find on the one hand a great number of terms in Galela, while only two are used in Kei (see Tables 5a, b and 6a, b).

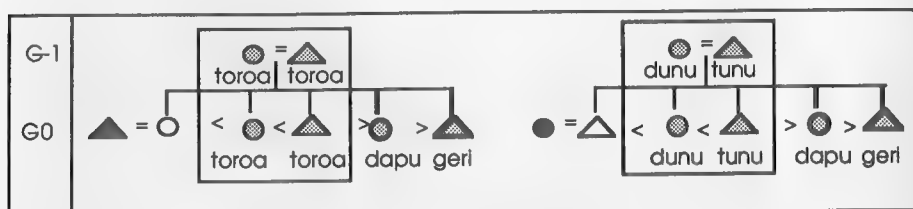


Table 7. Galela affinal terms for male and female Ego

In Galela (see Table 7) a different vocabulary is used by a male Ego and a female one to designate the spouse's elder siblings and parents. A male Ego thus uses five terms over three generations: *toroa*: wife's elder siblings, wife's father and wife's mother (WeB, WeZ, WF, WM); *geri* or *tafu*: wife's younger brother (WyB); *dapu*: wife's younger sister (WyZ); *doka*: son's wife (SW); *doroa*: daughter's husband (DH). A female Ego uses six terms: *tunu*: husband's elder brother, husband's father (HeB, HF); *dunu*: husband's elder sister, husband's mother (HeZ, HM); *geri* or *tafu*: husband's younger brother (HyB); *dapu*: husband's younger sister (HyZ); *doka*: son's wife (SW); *doroa*: daughter's husband (DH). Information provided by Ajawaila after recent fieldwork cites *modoka* for son's wife (SW). The latter, according to the data studied by Ajawaila in Van Baarda (1895), is the term of address for sons' wives, that is all women who have married in (*doka* means 'other place').

Two major changes affecting the specificity of siblingship in the framework of marriage relationships are interesting to note in contrast with the terms studied above. First, the merging of two generations, parents' and Ego's generation with regard to the spouse's elder siblings: spouse's parents and spouse's elder siblings are called after the same term, either m.s. *toroa*, or f.s. *tunu* and *dunu*. Second, in the case of a male Ego, the term does not indicate a sex distinction, male and female older affines are all *toroa*. As far as kin terms were concerned, the mother was distinguished from the father and opposite-sex siblings were differentiated. For a female Ego, the sex distinction is maintained in the merging of two generations.

Concerning affinal terms, it seems that the age distinction takes

precedence over the sex distinction, at Ego's generation: Ego has to take into account the age of his spouse's opposite-sex sibling while his spouse does not. All the spouse's elder relatives are classified in one category only, as if the spouse's elder siblings were of the same generation as their parents or the reverse, indicating that they are all older than the spouse.

A consideration of the pairs of reciprocal terms gives insight into the meaning of the above terms. The reciprocal of *toroa* (wife's parents) is *doroa* (daughter's husband). The transformation of *t* into *d* which occurs a few times in this vocabulary⁵ underlines the particular relationship between pairs of terms, and indicates, in the present case, the relationship between parents-in-law and son-in-law. In this respect, it is likely that *toroa-tunu-dunu* connotes the distinction of greater age and older generation more than the distinction of elder sibling. The latter distinction is in a way incorporated in the former in the framework of relations by marriage.⁶

On the other hand, in order to name the spouse's younger siblings, the sex distinction is maintained (spouse's brother distinguished from spouse's sister), and the same applies for a male or a female Ego.

Again one can notice the implicit emphasis put on the elder-younger opposition in a particular way: it does not distinguish between siblings but distinguishes between various categories of affines of different generations. It is not expressed by terms connoting birth order, but it opposes *de facto* the spouse's elder and younger siblings. An identification of husband and wife is revealed: a spouse classifies his/her affines on G 0 following the birth order of his/her spouse in the sibling relationship. The vocabulary classifies all the older relatives of the wife, older siblings and parents, in one category as if only the fact of being born before the wife was taken into account. The

⁵ One observes also that linguistically, the association of ascending and descending generations occurs in sets of reciprocal terms: for instance, *topora-dopora*, great grandparents-great grandchildren, *toroa-doroa*, wife's parents and wife's elder siblings-daughter's husband. In the first set, no sex distinction is observed, in the second, *doroa* designates only the masculine sex. In these two cases, the transformation of *t* into *d* signals a passage from upper to lower generations. A third set is observed, *tunu-dunu*, husband's father and husband's elder brother-husband's mother and husband's elder sister. In this case, the sex distinction is marked at two adjacent generations. I have no idea whatsoever about the linguistic meaning of this transformation of *t* into *d* which occurs also in other contexts in the same generation to mark the sex distinction: for instance *ete-ede*, parents' father-parents' mother, or *diopotiopo*, husbands of two sisters-wives of two brothers. (In the nearby Tobelo society, whose kinship vocabulary is close to that of Galela, this distinction in *t* and *d* does not occur, the corresponding terms are each included in one category such as *toroa*, *tiopo*, *tohora*, the distinction of sex or generations is thus, in this respect, less emphasized (see Platenkamp 1988).

⁶ The additional data collected by Ajawaila confirms the asymmetry between m.s. and f.s. vocabularies and also between older and younger generations. If the *t-d* transformation has some meaning, the archetypal reciprocal set would be *toroa-doroa*, parents-in-law-son-in-law, while daughters-in-law are considered as 'in-married' women (*doka*: 'other place'). This term no longer expresses reciprocal relationships between affines but the point of view of a 'group' vis-à-vis newcomers.

idea of being older includes also not only close relatives but all ascending generations up to the ancestors. This is confirmed by the fact that in some contexts the parents-in-law, for instance, are classified in the category of *himo mi take*, the 'ancestors who kill'.

For a male Ego, the contrast between upper and lower generations as a mark of affinity is emphasized by other expressions which differentiate the man's and the woman's affinity relationships. A male Ego addresses all his affines (his wife's relatives) with the expression *geri-doroa* (literally: WyB-DH), while a female Ego addresses her affines (her husband's relatives) with the expression *dunu-dapu* (literally HM, HeZ-HyZ). In the first expression, one can observe an implicit merging or an association of two generations, in this case Ego's and Ego's children's generation, to classify relatives by marriage. In the second, what is underlined is both the merging of two generations and the opposite-sex-sibling relationship of the husband.

In the same way that we observed all siblings and cousins of Ego's generation, and more generally the family, as designated by a term connoting younger age, a man's affines as a whole are classified with the categories of younger age or lower generation, *geri-doroa*.

The relationship to ascending generations incorporates a temporal dimension, as is shown by their association with ancestors, while the relationship to descending generations is characterized by the temporary aspect of affinal links which disappear after one generation. This gives the elder-younger opposition quite an important meaning which, in terms of relatives by marriage, extends far beyond the birth order classification of spouse's siblings.

The association of elder siblingship with ascending generations is corroborated by attitudes, particularly that of respect for the elder siblings and their spouses, interdiction to marry before the older siblings, formal replacement of the father by his eldest son at his death, and also prohibitions on pronouncing the name of, or on speaking before, elder affines.

Up to this point, one can provisionally conclude that affinal terms, organized in Galela vocabulary according to the age distinction, express both the superiority of age, and the specificity of each particular marriage, referring to each Ego's younger affines as if they were the totality of the affines.

Furthermore one notes the contrast between a man's and a woman's relationship with their affines, the latter emphasizing also the sex distinction to a certain extent.

In terms of reference, indication is thus given as to some difference of status made between the husband's side and that of the wife. One noted that a man classifies his wife's parents and elder siblings in one category, disregarding the sex distinction, while a woman uses two categories to distinguish her husband's father and elder brother on the one hand from her

husband's mother and elder sister on the other. The classification in only one category – a category which emphasizes older age – instead of two, may be an indication that a man's affines are more important than a woman's. This is confirmed by the fact that, among the terms of address, one finds a special address used for the mother's brother which is *epe jou* (*jou* is a term of respect meaning 'lord'), but no distinctive terms for the father's sister or her husband are found.⁷

Turning to the terms used in Kei for relatives by marriage, the picture is far simpler. There are only two genuine affinal terms, while other terms used are constructed on the basis of kin terms. By contrast with Galela vocabulary, what is of the utmost importance in Kei is the sex distinction.

At the parents' and children's generations, the vocabulary is the same for a male and a female Ego: *yaman turan*, SpF, *renan te*, SpM, *yanan turan*, DH, *yanan te*, SW. *Yaman*, *renan* and *yanan* are 'father', 'mother' and 'child', *turan* and *te* are the masculine and feminine terms of respect, usually used for old men and women.

At Ego's generation, *hoan* is the term for spouse and *ifar* designates the spouse's opposite-sex sibling and the opposite-sex sibling's spouse. The term *ifar* designates also the spouse's opposite-sex sibling's spouse (m.s. WBW, f.s. HZH) but not the opposite-sex sibling's spouse's opposite-sex sibling (m.s. ZHZ, f.s. BWB, see Table 8).

Spouse's same-sex siblings and same-sex sibling's spouses are all named by the term indicating the birth order of siblings in the siblings' pairs (Table 9). This denomination suggests some sort of incongruity, at least from the translator's point of view, because a term to indicate the sex difference has to be added. While the term for same-sex siblings denotes only the position as older or younger (and same sex as Ego), the spouse of the same-sex sibling or the same-sex sibling of the spouse is of opposite sex (m.s. e/yBW, We/yZ,

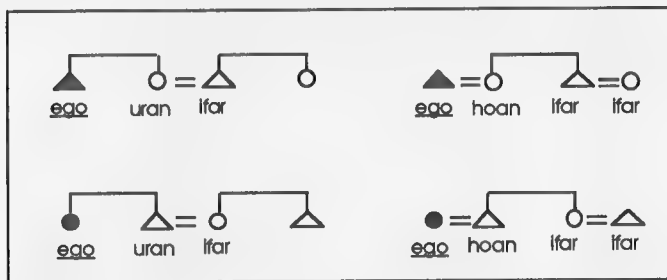


Table 8. Kei terms for opposite-sex sibling's spouse and spouse's opposite-sex sibling

⁷ Additional information collected by Ajawaila concerning siblings' spouses was given too late to be introduced here. It confirms the principle of the merging of generations in affinity relationships.

f.s. e/yZH, He/yB). Thus, for instance, a male Ego calls his elder brother's wife *a'an vat*, *a'an*: elder brother, *vat*: woman, literally, 'woman-elder brother', while a female Ego calls her elder sister's husband *a'an baran*, *a'an*: elder sister, *baran*: man, literally, 'man-elder sister'. In that respect, the sex distinction takes precedence, for it has to be added to the age distinction, which is a given.

What is stressed in the denomination of affines at Ego's generation is the identification of husband and wife through the marriage link, which causes a spouse to be categorized according to the position of his/her spouse in the

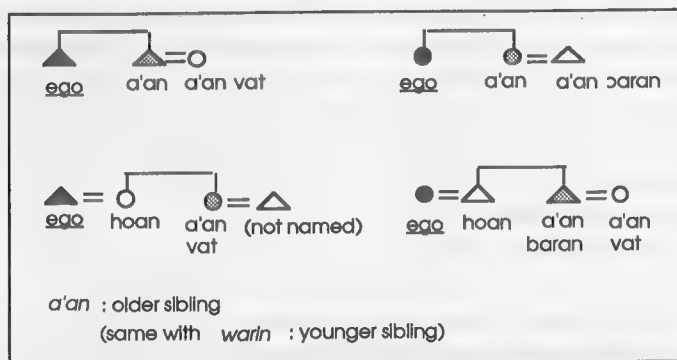


Table 9. Kei terms for same-sex sibling's spouse and spouse's same-sex sibling

sibling relationship. This holds true for both same-sex and opposite-sex siblings. However, an emphasis is put on the brother-sister relationship, indicated by a specific term, *ifar*. Furthermore, the identification of two spouses is possible after a brother-sister link, but there is no identification of brother and sister after a marriage link.

It is thus possible to say that in Kei kinship vocabulary, affinal terms are constructed on the basis of the sex distinction and more precisely on the opposite-sex siblings' relationship. This view is confirmed by the terms used to name the two sides in the marriage relationship, *yan ur* – *mang oho*, literally 'children-sisters – people of the village' referring respectively to the husband's side and the wife's side. For the latter, the point of view thus expressed in calling the husband's side *yan ur* is that of a brother whose sister has married and has borne children. For the husband, *mang oho* – his wife's side – refers to locality, and furthermore, to ancestors. Indeed, *mang oho* are also called *duad nit*, a category of the dead particularly feared and respected.

In contrast with Galela, a man and a woman in Kei use the same terms to name their relatives by marriage. A difference is found, however, in the name of the two sides of a marriage relationship (see Barraud 1990b).

In summary, the same Kei terms are used by a man and a woman, but a

difference is made between the two sides of a marriage relationship, *mang oho* for a man, *yan ur* for a woman. In Galela, different terms for relatives by marriage are used by a man and a woman, and different terms name the affines in general: for a man, *geri-doroa*, wife's younger brother and son-in-law, for a woman, *dunu-dapu*, husband's mother and husband's elder sister-husband's younger sister. A husband and a wife are differentiated through the use of two terms in Galela (*roka* and *pedeka*), as are a brother and a sister (*hira* and *bira*), while in Kei, the same term is used for brother and sister (*uran*) and the same term is used for husband and wife (*hoan*).

To conclude, arising out of this analysis of some aspects of two kinship vocabularies, one can say that, surprisingly enough when one knows that MBD marriage is the rule in Kei but forbidden in Galela, it seems that there is a greater difference between a man's and a woman's affines in Galela than in Kei and that affinity is more stressed. Affinity is not an homogeneous notion: elder affines are radically opposed to younger ones whose terms of reference designate, for a man, terminologically, the affinal relationship as a whole. Each marriage creates a new affinal relationship which, at the next generation, transforms into an opposition between the father's side and the mother's side, called *bolu moi*: members of the same *bolu moi* are forbidden to marry, although their descendants after three generations may do so. In Kei, affinal relationships develop at Ego's generation around the brother-sister pair. Because of the rule of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, a marriage transforms a terminological 'sister', *uran*, into a 'wife', *hoan*, and a terminological elder or younger sibling into a 'wife's brother', *ifar* (see Table 10). An affinal relationship is inaugurated which does not last more than one generation, and is transformed at the next into a strong and enduring relationship between ancestors of the mother's brother, *mang oho duad nit*, on the one hand, and the descendants of his sister, spreading over succes-

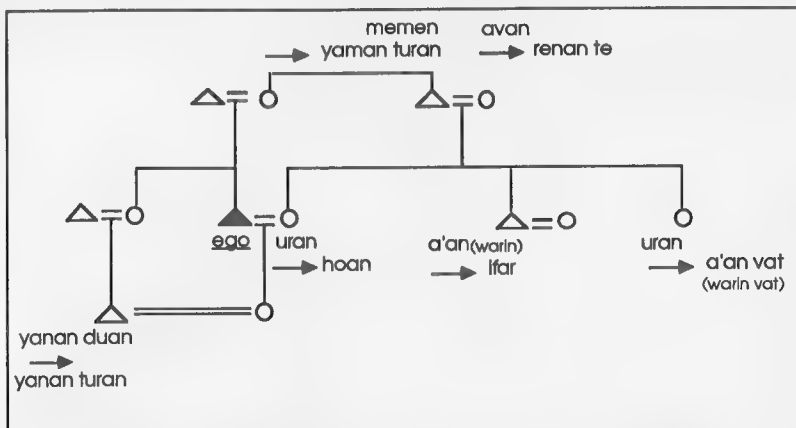


Table 10. Transformation of kinship terms after MBD marriage in Kei

sive houses, on the other. This relationship is no longer an affinal one.

The difference between Kei and Galela societies does not rest upon the fact that the one has permanent groups linked by ancestral relationships and the other has not, nor that the one has descent groups and the other is more essentially based on kindred relationships. We know that marriage is important in both societies in which high value is given to the woman's side in marriage relationships. However, with respect to their kinship vocabulary, different principles order both the kin and the affinal relationships of each society.

In both societies affinal relationships are meaningful in close association with sibling relationships, elder-younger sibling relationship in the case of Galela, brother-sister relationship in the case of Kei. In the two vocabularies however, the ordering of affines in G 0 rests upon the position of the spouse among his/her siblings (either older, younger or opposite sex). While marriage is not repeated in Galela but should be repeated in Kei, in both societies a marriage induces a particular relationship between generations, in terms of older/younger ones in Galela, and in terms of 'ancestors of a brother/descendants of a sister' in Kei. In Galela, the respectful attitude towards older affines is not a characteristic of affinity, but characterizes the relationships towards upper generations. If a man's affines are called after terms meaning younger siblings and son-in-law, that is, lower generations, it might mean that marriage and the affinal relation that it induces is less important than the fact of belonging, even as affines, to the upper generations. In Galela, a woman's affines are contrasted and characterized by an additional principle, the brother-sister relationship, introducing an asymmetry which recalls the part played, in particular circumstances, such as his funeral both by a man's sisters and by women who have married in. In Kei, the affinal link is limited with perfect symmetry to the brother-sister relationship, while marriage creates a permanent asymmetrical relationship between a specific locality and the dead ancestors of a brother on the one hand, the descendants of a sister on the other.

In Galela, instead of characterizing relationships on one generation as opposed to others, the elder-younger sibling relationship embodies a sort of diachronic dimension which gives the whole kinship vocabulary its specific orientation. The principle at stake is an opposition between older and younger age, or older and younger generation. It pervades the entire vocabulary as a whole. The ascending generation, excluding the parents' younger affines, contrasts fathers, mothers, father's sister and mother's brother, and elder same-sex siblings on the one side, to spouse's father, mother and older siblings, on the other, as if one's own ascending kin was contrasted with one's spouse's ascending kin. They are all Ego's (and Ego's spouse's) 'elders', invested with the authority of the ancestors. The opposition is an absolute

one between the youngest (Ego) and the elders. On the contrary, when considering a male Ego's generation and the descending generation, although the terms themselves indicate younger age or younger generation, they also name classes of relatives or of people in which the age distinction is no longer made: *gia ma nongoru*, one's generation and one's family at large, *geri-doroa*, one's affines in general, *dodo*, the young, *doka*, the 'in-married' women. Ego is not the oldest among these relatives but a member of each class. In that respect, the elder-younger sibling opposition expresses a principle of opposition between upper and lower generations which orders not only the kinship vocabulary but also other elements of social organization as well (such as marriage or social units), referring, it seems, to contrasted ideas and values. Further analyses of this society would make these elements more explicit and show how they are ordered.

In Kei, the brother-sister relationship principle 'develops' as far as embodying both the affinal relationships and a wider relationship between permanent groups, including that between particular ancestors and their descendants through women. Moreover, the brother-sister relationship, a symmetrical one, transforms into an asymmetrical one when it induces relationships between generations. As already noted with regard to marriage relationships and funerary prestations (Barraud 1990b), this principle substitutes itself partly to other principles, such as those of marriage and of the succession of generations.

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HARYO S. MARTODIRDJO

Organisasi sosial orang Tugutil di Halmahera

'Cosmos and human society are organised in the same way, and through this there emerges the essential interconnexion and similarity of the human and the cosmic' (Van Wouden 1968:2)

Pendahuluan

Dibandingkan dengan suku-suku bangsa lain sesama penduduk Halmahera, jumlah orang Tugutil termasuk kecil (jumlah mereka dewasa ini diperkirakan tidak lebih dari 1500 orang, tinggal menyebar di daerah-daerah pedalaman Halmahera bagian Utara dan Tengah). Secara kuantitas keberadaan orang Tugutil tampaknya tidak banyak memberikan arti. Tetapi dari segi kebudayaan yang dimiliki, pemahaman terhadapnya akan merupakan sumbangan besar terhadap usaha mempelajari keanekaragaman dan kompleksitas pola-pola kebudayaan daerah Halmahera secara keseluruhan. Dalam hal ini arti penting kebudayaan orang Tugutil bukan hanya karena spesifikasi karakteristiknya yang jelas akan memperkaya pengetahuan kita, tetapi posisi komparasinya akan memperjelas gambaran tentang dinamika masyarakat dan kebudayaan Halmahera pada umumnya dan khususnya Halmahera Utara. Beberapa literatur lama dan hasil penelitian dalam dua dekade terakhir mengungkapkan adanya korespondensi yang cukup dekat antara orang Tugutil dengan khususnya orang Tobelo (Huetting 1921-22; Baden 1929; Van Fraassen 1980; Huliselan 1980; Taylor 1980, 1990; Martodirdjo 1982, 1991; Platenkamp 1983, 1988; Voorhoeve 1983).

Uraian dalam tulisan ini akan dipusatkan pada masalah pokok tentang bagaimana orang Tugutil, sebagai masyarakat penghuni hutan, mengorganisasikan diri ke dalam sistem pengelompokan sosial beserta proses dinamika yang terkandung di dalamnya.¹

Setelah penyajian gambaran umum tentang orang Tugutil di Halmahera,

¹ Ucapan terima kasih disampaikan kepada Dr Paul Taylor dari Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, atas saran-saran dan bantuannya.

pertama-tama akan diuraikan pola kesatuan hidup setempat yang meliputi kesatuan rumah, kesatuan pemukiman dan kesatuan hutan. Kemudian disambung dengan uraian tentang kelompok kekerabatan yang dipusatkan pada keluarga inti atau kesatuan rumah tangga dan kelompok kerabat dekat. Keseluruhan deskripsi tentang fenomena-fenomena sosial tersebut ditempatkan dalam pembahasan ringkas tentang beberapa karakteristik dasar dalam kehidupan orang Tugutil yang bertumpu pada struktur sosial mereka.

Tulisan ini disusun berdasarkan data lapangan yang dikumpulkan antara tahun 1981-1986. Penelitian etnografi tentang orang Tugutil di Halmahera dilakukan atas wibawa dan biaya Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (khususnya LEKNAS pada waktu itu) di Jakarta dan Universitas Padjadjaran di Bandung. Tambahan data sekunder diperoleh terutama di perpustakaan KITLV di Leiden.

Orang Tugutil di Halmahera

Orang Tugutil adalah penduduk daerah pedalaman Halmahera yang tersebar dalam kelompok-kelompok kecil di kecamatan-kecamatan Galela, Tobelo dan Kao (kabupaten Maluku Utara) dan di kecamatan-kecamatan Wasile, Maba dan Patani (kabupaten Halmahera Tengah). Diperkirakan jumlah mereka dewasa ini berkisar antara 1250 sampai 1500 orang.

Dari sampel penelitian orang Tugutil sebanyak 86 keluarga (135 orang) penghuni hutan Dodaga dan hutan Tutuling di kecamatan Wasile kabupaten Halmahera Tengah, jumlah laki-laki lebih banyak (54%) dibandingkan dengan perempuan (46%). Anak-anak usia 0-4 tahun sebesar 14%, dan hanya 3% saja diantara mereka berusia 60 tahun ke atas. Dalam pada itu tingkat kematian bayi dan anak-anak di bawah usia 5 tahun relatif tinggi yang disebabkan terutama karena kurangnya perawatan, disamping rendahnya tingkat kesehatan dan gizi makanan.

Orang Tugutil tidak pernah tinggal menetap di suatu lokasi tertentu secara terus menerus. Mereka sering berpindah tempat tinggal, sebagaimana umumnya masyarakat berburu dan meramu (Lee and DeVore 1984:11), yang dilakukan oleh masing-masing kesatuan rumah tangga (*o tau moi ma nyawa*) dengan atau tanpa persetujuan kesatuan-kesatuan rumah tangga yang lain. Perpindahan yang dilakukan bisa bersifat sementara atau bisa juga bersifat tetap. Perpindahan sementara artinya meninggalkan suatu kesatuan rumah (*o tau*) untuk sementara waktu kemudian datang menghuninya kembali pada kesempatan yang lain. Jangka waktu meninggalkan kesatuan rumah bisa beberapa hari atau beberapa minggu atau beberapa bulan. Sedangkan perpindahan tetap artinya sekali meninggalkan kesatuan rumah maka untuk seterusnya kesatuan rumah tersebut tidak pernah ditempati kembali. Suatu kesatuan rumah akan ditinggalkan untuk seterusnya jika

dianggap telah tercemar secara spiritual, misalnya karena ada orang yang meninggal di dalamnya atau karena terjadi bencana alam di sekitarnya.

Orang Tugutil menyebut diri sebagai *o hongana ma nyawa* yang berarti orang hutan atau penghuni hutan, sebagai kebalikan dari *o berera ma nyawa* atau orang kampung. Kesatuan hutan (*o hongana*) merupakan fenomena yang penting dalam kehidupan mereka. Secara konseptual hutan bukan hanya sebagai lingkungan tempat tinggal dan tempat mendapatkan bahan makanan, tetapi lebih jauh lagi dianggap sebagai sumber dan sekaligus muara bagi eksistensi dan perkembangan kehidupan mereka. Di dalam hutan mereka merasa dilahirkan, hidup dan meninggal, serta kemudian mengikuti kehidupan anak cucu secara gaib.

Mata pencaharian hidup orang Tugutil terpusat pada sumber alami yang tersedia di dalam hutan tempat tinggalnya. Memukul sagu, berburu dan menangkap ikan adalah usaha mereka yang pokok untuk mendapatkan bahan makanan. Kemudian ditambah lagi dengan mengumpulkan bahan makanan yang ada dan mengusahakan kebun sederhana di sekitar rumah. Mereka yang tinggal di dekat kampung mulai ada yang membuka hutan untuk dijadikan kebun kelapa, di samping untuk menanam berbagai jenis tanaman pangan (pisang, kasbi, ubi jalar, jagung, padi, tebu, buah-buahan). Sebagai usaha tambahan kadang-kadang mereka masuk jauh ke dalam hutan mengumpulkan damar untuk dipertukarkan dengan barang kebutuhan atau dijual di kampung. Tanduk rusa, daging rusa, telur moleu dan buah kenari sering dipergunakan juga sebagai bahan penukar atau untuk dijual.

Kehidupan ekonomi orang Tugutil sangat diwarnai oleh sistem pembagian (*sharing system*) dan sistem pertukaran (*exchange system*) atas hasil kerja atau hasil produksi berdasarkan prinsip timbal balik (*reciprocity*). Di samping, sistem pembagian kerja dan tanggung jawab berdasarkan perbedaan jenis kelamin. Orang Tugutil membedakan secara prinsipil antara pekerjaan laki-laki dan pekerjaan perempuan. Memukul sagu, berburu dan menangkap ikan sebagai jenis pekerjaan yang mengandung unsur pembunahan adalah sepenuhnya tanggung jawab laki-laki. Sedangkan perempuan, di samping bertanggung jawab dalam mengolah bahan makanan dan menyajikannya, mereka dapat juga membantu mencari bahan makanan dalam bentuk mengumpulkan serta menanam dan merawat kebun sederhana di sekitar rumah.

Sistem pembagian kerja dan tanggung jawab dalam kehidupan ekonomi orang Tugutil tersebut didasarkan pada pandangan bahwa eksistensi perempuan berkaitan dengan tugas menghidupi atau memberi hidup melalui aktivitas-aktivitas yang mengandung unsur perawatan dan pemuliaan. Se-

baliknya eksistensi laki-laki berkaitan dengan keberadaan dari kehidupan itu sendiri yang kontinuitasnya justru ditandai oleh aktivitas-aktivitas yang mengandung unsur pembunuhan atau penghancuran. Keduanya dianggap sebagai pasangan dalam sistem pembagian dua yang saling berlawanan tetapi sekaligus juga saling membutuhkan dan saling melengkapi, dalam konteks kelangsungan hidup manusia baik sebagai individu maupun sebagai jenis.

Dalam menempatkan peranan laki-laki dan perempuan, pertama-tama orang Tugutil mendasarkannya pada perbedaan struktur dan fungsi anatomis masing-masing secara alami. Laki-laki yang memproduksi sperma atau zat hidup dianggap sebagai pemilik dan penguasa kehidupan. Sedangkan perempuan yang memiliki rahim sebagai wadah atau tempat persemaian bibit kehidupan dari laki-laki serta memiliki air susu yang dapat menghidupi dianggap sebagai pemberi dan sekaligus penyebar kehidupan. Perempuan karenanya dianggap juga sebagai lambang kesuburan. Dasar yang kedua bertumpu pada sistem kepercayaan, khususnya pandangan tentang keberadaan manusia sebagai makhluk hidup. Dalam hal ini laki-laki dianggap sebagai pemegang unsur nama atau harga diri (*o gurumini*) dan perempuan dianggap sebagai pemegang unsur nyawa atau jiwa (*o gikiri*). Kedua unsur tersebut, *o gurumini* dan *o gikiri*, bersama unsur tubuh fisik (*o roehe*) merupakan satu kesatuan unsur-unsur yang menandai keberadaan manusia. Adanya kedua unsur yang pertama tersebutlah yang membedakan manusia dari makhluk-makhluk hidup yang lain. Dengan kata lain fenomena pasangan laki-laki dan perempuan, dalam pandangan orang Tugutil, secara konseptual memiliki posisi kunci dan jaringan yang luas dalam dinamika kehidupan manusia secara keseluruhan.

Sistem klasifikasi bagi dua berpasangan dalam kehidupan orang Tugutil tampaknya tidak hanya mewarnai aktivitas ekonomi tetapi terjaring lebih luas lagi ke dalam kehidupan sosial dan spiritual baik yang menyangkut ikatan tempat tinggal maupun ikatan kekerabatan. Fungsi kesatuan rumah misalnya, merefleksikan hubungan timbal balik antara manusia dengan alam sekitar dan leluhur di samping di antara sesama manusia dalam posisi masing-masing yang saling berbeda tetapi sekaligus juga saling melengkapi. Kesatuan-kesatuan hutan dibedakan dalam posisi saling berlawanan antara tua-muda atau kakak-adik justru dalam rangka memenuhi kebutuhan untuk bersatu dalam menghadapi lawan atau musuh dari luar. Demikian juga dalam proses pembentukan dan dinamika kelompok-kelompok kekerabatan pada dasarnya dilandasi pula oleh sistem bagi dua berpasangan khususnya antara laki-laki dan perempuan tersebut serta beberapa konsekuensi logis yang menyertainya. Keseluruhannya terwujud ke dalam struktur sosial mereka.

Di atas peta Indonesia pulau Halmahera, tempat bermukimnya orang Tugutil, terletak di bagian Timur Laut berhadapan langsung dengan lautan Pasifik. Sedangkan hutan Dodaga dan hutan Tutuling yang berada di wilayah desa Dodaga dan desa Lolobata kecamatan Wasile kabupaten Halmahera Tengah terletak di bagian Timur Laut pulau Halmahera, memanjang dari arah Barat Daya ke Timur Laut pada garis pantai teluk Kao bagian Selatan dan Timur. Luas keseluruhan wilayah desa Dodaga dan desa Lolobata yang merupakan satu kesatuan geografis meliputi kurang lebih 600 kilometer persegi. Di dalamnya terdapat hutan tropis sebagai tempat bermukim dan hidupnya orang Tugutil.

Kesatuan hidup setempat

Orang Tugutil mengenal tiga tingkatan konsep dan bentuk kesatuan hidup setempat atau kesatuan tempat tinggal, yaitu: kesatuan rumah (*o tau*), kesatuan pemukiman (*o gogere*), dan kesatuan hutan (*o hongana*). Kesatuan rumah adalah tempat tinggal bagi sebuah keluarga inti atau sebuah kesatuan rumah tangga dalam kehidupan mereka sehari-hari. Kesatuan pemukiman pada dasarnya merupakan pengelompokan sejumlah kesatuan rumah, sebagai tempat para individu anggota kesatuan-kesatuan rumah tangga tersebut melangsungkan kehidupan bersama dan saling memenuhi kebutuhan yang lebih luas. Sedangkan kesatuan hutan merupakan kawasan wilayah tempat tinggal dan tempat mendapatkan bahan makanan yang sekaligus juga memberikan identitas diri terhadap masyarakat luar.

Dalam pandangan orang Tugutil kesatuan rumah dan kesatuan hutan tampaknya masing-masing memiliki kedudukan dan peranan yang lebih menonjol dalam kehidupan mereka. Kesatuan pemukiman, yang berada di antara keduanya, seolah-olah tenggelam dan tidak menunjukkan peranan yang berarti. Keberadaan kesatuan pemukiman itu sendiri dalam kenyataannya memang tidak pernah tetap. Dalam hal ini bukan hanya karena tingkat mobilitas geografisnya yang relatif tinggi, tetapi dari segi jumlah kesatuan rumah maupun komposisi kesatuan-kesatuan rumah tangganya juga tidak pernah ada kepastian. Selama ini setiap kesatuan rumah tangga dalam kenyataannya sewaktu-waktu dapat keluar dan masuk ke setiap kesatuan pemukiman di dalam wilayah kesatuan hutan di lingkungannya sendiri atau kadang-kadang bahkan masuk ke dalam wilayah kesatuan hutan yang lain.

Kesatuan rumah

Orang Tugutil selalu mendirikan bangunan rumah tempat tinggalnya di tepi sungai, langsung di tepiannya atau dalam jarak antara 20-30 meter dari garis tepi. Bangunan rumah tersebut hanya berupa gubug (*o tau*) yang rata-rata berukuran satu setengah kali dua meter persegi, beratap daun woka dan terbuka kesemua sisinya. Tiap satu kesatuan rumah (*o tau moi*) biasanya didirikan dalam jarak yang saling berjauhan dengan kesatuan-kesatuan rumah yang lain, walaupun keseluruhannya berada dalam batas satu kesatuan pemukiman (*o gogere moi*). Jarak antar kesatuan rumah umumnya berkisar antara 50 sampai 500 meter. Tidak ada ukuran jarak yang pasti. Dalam kenyataan ada juga beberapa kesatuan rumah yang hanya berjarak antara 15 sampai 20 meter, di samping ada yang sampai satu kilometer atau lebih.

Kesatuan rumah orang Tugutil baik yang terdapat di kawasan hutan Dodaga maupun di kawasan hutan Tutuling dapat dibedakan atas tiga tipe, dari tipe yang sederhana ke yang lebih lengkap. Kesatuan rumah dalam tipe yang paling sederhana hanya terdiri atas satu bangunan 'gubug besar' (*o tau ma amoko*) dengan ukuran kurang lebih satu setengah kali dua meter persegi. Di dalam gubug tersebut terdapat sebuah balai-balai (*o dangiri*) sebagai tempat tidur dan sekaligus tempat menerima tamu. Dapur (*o hohakai*) hanya berupa tungku api (*o rikana*) yang pada malam hari berfungsi sebagai perapian untuk penghangat badan dan pengusir nyamuk. Di bawah atap terdapat para-para (*o para*) sebagai tempat meletakkan makanan dan minuman untuk ruh leluhur. Kesatuan rumah dalam tipe sedang biasanya ditandai dengan adanya penambahan satu gubug khusus untuk dapur yang dibangun dalam ukuran lebih kecil di samping gubug besar arah ke belakang. Gubug besarnya sendiri biasanya diperluas hanya dengan menyambung atap dan balai-balai. Sedangkan kesatuan rumah dalam tipe yang lengkap, di samping adanya gubug khusus untuk dapur biasanya ditambah lagi dengan beberapa gubug lain untuk tempat tidur anak-anak yang telah dewasa atau penghuni tambahan atau tamu. Kadang-kadang kesatuan rumah dilengkapi juga dengan satu gubug dalam ukuran yang lebih besar lagi yang didirikan di tengah-tengah halaman untuk menerima tamu atau untuk tempat menyelenggarakan upacara-upacara ritual dan kegiatan lain.

Dalam setiap kesatuan rumah selalu terdapat adanya lima unsur kelengkapan pokok, yaitu: balai-balai untuk tidur, dapur, perapian, balai-balai untuk menerima tamu, dan para-para. Kelima komponen pokok tersebut harus ada pada setiap kesatuan rumah dalam tingkatannya yang paling sederhana sekalipun. Dalam kenyataan sering dijumpai bahwa kelima

unsur tersebut saling bergabung. Dapur misalnya, dalam kesempatan lain sekaligus berfungsi juga sebagai perapian. Atau balai-balai untuk tempat tidur berfungsi juga sebagai balai-balai untuk menerima tamu. Fungsi kelima unsur kesatuan rumah tersebut terjaring luas bersama eksistensi dan dinamika rumah tangga penghuninya dalam kehidupan sehari-hari.

Keberadaan balai-balai untuk tempat tidur dimaksudkan berkaitan juga dengan proses reproduksi dalam kerangka melanjutkan keturunan. Perapian erat hubungannya dengan proses adaptasi terhadap lingkungan alam sekitar. Sedangkan dapur dianggap sebagai bagian yang memiliki fungsi sentral khususnya dalam kehidupan ekonomi keluarga. Balai-balai untuk menerima tamu dianggap sebagai perwujudan dari fungsi sosial keluarga dalam hubungan timbal baliknya dengan sesama anggota masyarakat. Adapun para-para tempat meletakkan makanan dan minuman untuk leluhur, eksistensinya dianggap berkaitan langsung dengan hubungan timbal balik antara penghuni kesatuan rumah yang bersangkutan dengan dunia supranatural khususnya dengan ruh leluhur.

Berdasarkan pembahasan dari sudut struktur fisik di atas, kesatuan rumah dapat dilihat dalam pengertiannya sebagai suatu konsep. Dalam hal ini kesatuan rumah dilihat sebagai fenomena yang eksistensinya berhubungan erat bahkan larut menjadi satu dengan kehidupan rumah tangga penghuninya, baik dalam kehidupan ekonomi maupun dalam kehidupan sosial dan spiritual. Kesatuan rumah merupakan wadah bagi keberadaan dan sekaligus dinamika kesatuan rumah tangga penghuninya. Dengan kata lain, dalam

Tabel 1. Penyebaran tipologi rumah tangga penghuni kesatuan rumah di hutan Dodaga dan hutan Tutuling (di luar proyek perumahan sosial) (n = 62).

Tipe rumah tangga	Jumlah rumah tangga Total	%	Keterangan
Keluarga inti	43	69	24 rumah tangga tinggal di proyek perumahan sosial
Keluarga inti tidak lengkap (duda/janda/+anak/+cucu/dsb)	3	5	
Keluarga inti tambah kerabat dekat (keluarga dekat inti +ayah/+ibu/+adik/dsb)	15	24	
Keluarga inti ditambah orang lain	1	2	
Jumlah	62	100	

Sumber: penelitian lapangan 1981-82.

pandangan orang Tugutil, kesatuan rumah adalah identik dengan kesatuan rumah tangga penghuninya atau sebaliknya kesatuan rumah tangga adalah identik dengan kesatuan rumah tempat tinggalnya.

Sebagai gambaran tentang penghunian tiap-tiap kesatuan rumah orang Tugutil, di atas ini dikemukakan tabel tentang tipologi kesatuan rumah tangga penghuni kesatuan rumah yang terdapat di dalam hutan Dodaga dan di hutan Tutuling (pada bulan Oktober 1981).

Dari Tabel 1 tampak bahwa lebih dari setengahnya (69%) kesatuan rumah dihuni oleh rumah tangga yang sepenuhnya berada dalam batas satu keluarga inti yang utuh (ayah dan ibu bersama anak-anak mereka). Ditambah dengan jumlah penghuni dalam komposisi keluarga inti yang tidak lengkap (5%), maka dapat dikatakan kurang lebih tiga perempat (74%) dari keseluruhan kesatuan rumah di hutan Dodaga dan hutan Tutuling masing-masing dihuni oleh kesatuan rumah tangga yang terdiri atas satu keluarga inti. Sedangkan seperempatnya yang lain (26%) masing-masing dihuni oleh satu kesatuan rumah tangga yang terdiri dari satu keluarga inti ditambah penghuni tambahan. Dalam pada itu tidak ada satupun kesatuan rumah yang dihuni oleh lebih dari satu keluarga inti atau kesatuan rumah tangga.

Kesatuan pemukiman

Yang dimaksud dengan kesatuan pemukiman (*o gogere*) di sini adalah suatu unit tempat tinggal yang pada dasarnya terdiri atas sejumlah kesatuan rumah. Jumlah kesatuan rumah tersebut umumnya berkisar antara 2-7 buah yang dibangun menyebar dalam jarak antara 50 sampai 500 meter, walaupun ada juga beberapa kesatuan rumah yang hanya berjarak antara 15 sampai 20 meter atau sebaliknya sampai satu kilometer atau lebih. Kesatuan pemukiman biasanya dibangun di kawasan dekat sungai dan disebut atau diberi nama sesuai dengan nama sungai atau anak sungai tempat kesatuan pemukiman tersebut berada.

Kesatuan pemukiman bersifat sementara, biasanya berlangsung dalam beberapa bulan tetapi adakalanya hanya beberapa minggu atau bahkan beberapa hari. Setiap kesatuan pemukiman tidak selalu dibangun di lokasi yang baru. Seringkali suatu lokasi kesatuan pemukiman tertentu ditempati beberapa kali, walaupun penempatannya tidak pernah dilakukan secara terus menerus dalam rangkaian waktu yang utuh. Suatu kesatuan pemukiman biasanya ditandai oleh adanya pohon atau tanaman tertentu atau kadang-kadang berupa kebun atau pekarangan rumah yang ditanami pisang, kasbi, ubi jalar atau buah-buahan. Bangunan kesatuan rumah atau kesatuan-kesatuan rumah yang ada biasanya akan segera hancur jika ditinggalkan penghuninya.

Berdasarkan catatan pada bulan Oktober 1981, kesatuan-kesatuan pemukiman orang Tugutil umumnya menyebar di dalam hutan tidak jauh dari dataran dekat pantai. Hanya kira-kira seperempatnya yang terdapat jauh di pedalaman. Jumlah kesatuan rumah yang dibangun di tiap-tiap kesatuan pemukiman tersebut tidak pernah tetap. Tidak ada ketentuan atau ukuran yang pasti tentang jumlah kesatuan rumah dalam suatu kesatuan pemukiman. Bahkan ditemukan juga beberapa kesatuan pemukiman yang hanya terdiri atas satu buah kesatuan rumah. Sebagai gambaran tentang besar kecilnya kesatuan pemukiman berdasarkan jumlah kesatuan rumah yang terdapat di dalamnya dapat dilihat dalam tabel di bawah ini.

Tabel 2. Penyebaran kesatuan pemukiman berdasarkan jumlah kesatuan rumah di hutan Dodaga dan hutan Tutuling (di luar proyek perumahan sosial) (n = 22).

Kesatuan rumah dalam Pemukiman	Kesatuan Pemukiman Total	Keterangan %	
1	5	23	24 kesatuan rumah berada di kompleks perumahan sosial
2 - 3	11	50	
4 - 5	4	18	
6 - 7	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>	
Jumlah	22	100	

Sumber: penelitian lapangan 1981-82.

Dari tabel di atas tampak bahwa 50% dari keseluruhan kesatuan pemukiman di kawasan hutan Dodaga dan hutan Tutuling terdiri atas dua atau tiga buah kesatuan rumah yang berarti bahwa dalam setiap kesatuan pemukiman hanya terdapat dua atau tiga kesatuan rumah tangga. Sedangkan hampir seperempatnya (23%) bahkan hanya terdiri atas satu kesatuan rumah saja yang berarti juga bahwa masing-masing hanya dihuni oleh satu kesatuan rumah tangga. Selebihnya (27%), ada yang terdiri atas empat atau lima kesatuan rumah (18%) di samping ada yang terdiri atas enam atau tujuh kesatuan rumah (9%). Berdasarkan gambaran yang terungkap melalui tabel di atas dapat dikatakan bahwa tampaknya orang Tugutil tidak mengenal adanya pola atau tipologi kesatuan pemukiman secara fisik yang bersifat tetap. Artinya bentuk kesatuan-kesatuan pemukiman sewaktu-waktu dapat mengalami perubahan. Perubahan yang terjadi meliputi jumlah kesatuan rumah yang terdapat di dalamnya ataupun komposisi hubungan antar kesatuan rumah tangga penghuninya. Jarak antar kesatuan rumah di dalam suatu kesatuan pemukiman atau jarak antar kesatuan pemukiman sewaktu-waktu bisa juga berubah.

Dalam pada itu, secara konseptual, keberadaan kesatuan pemukiman sebenarnya memiliki kedudukan dan peranan yang cukup penting dalam jaringan sistem kekerabatan orang Tugutil. Setelah upacara perkawinan

maka seorang isteri (*o mohoka*) secara resmi menjadi anggota keluarga suami dan untuk seterusnya bertempat tinggal bersama suami di lingkungan keluarga suami. Orang Tugutil mengenal dan menerapkan prinsip virilokal atau patrilokal dalam rangka penentuan tempat tinggal bagi rumah tangga baru setelah berlangsungnya perkawinan. Dalam hal ini jelas orientasinya pada segi penambahan jumlah kesatuan rumah dalam kompleks kesatuan pemukiman pihak keluarga suami atau keluarga laki-laki. Dengan kata lain eksistensi dan dinamika kesatuan pemukiman orang Tugutil sebenarnya, secara konseptual, berkaitan erat dengan sistem perkawinan yang berlaku sehingga seharusnya ada pola tertentu yang menjadi ukuran.

Kesatuan hutan

Dalam tingkatannya yang luas orang Tugutil membatasi ikatan kesatuan hidup setempat menurut batas kewilayahan dalam bentuk kesatuan hutan. Mereka yang bertempat tinggal dan hidup di lingkungan satu kesatuan hutan (*o hongana moi*) disebut sebagai orang satu kesatuan hutan (*o hongana moi ma nyawa*). Dalam pergaulan sehari-hari bahkan orang Tugutil menyebut diri sebagai 'orang hutan' (*o hongana ma nyawa*) sebagai kebalikan dari 'orang kampung' (*o berera ma nyawa*).

Dalam konteks orang Tugutil di lokasi penelitian, mereka menyebut diri sebagai penghuni kesatuan hutan Dodaga dan penghuni kesatuan hutan Tutuling. Pembatasan antara dua kesatuan hutan tersebut tidak dapat dilakukan secara ketat dengan batas-batasnya yang jelas, walaupun semua penghuni masing-masing kesatuan hutan umumnya mengetahui dan menghormati adanya batas pemisah antara keduanya. Dalam kenyataan selalu terjadi adanya pelanggaran batas wilayah yang dilakukan masing-masing penghuni dalam kaitannya dengan aktivitas kehidupan sehari-hari terutama dalam konteks pencarian bahan makanan. Sebagai suatu konsep kewilayahan kesatuan hutan memang sulit ditentukan batas-batasnya secara nyata.

Penentuan wilayah kesatuan hutan sebagai suatu kesatuan sosial pada orang Tugutil dikaitkan dengan kebutuhan akan suatu wilayah yang relatif pasti terutama dalam kegiatan pencarian bahan makanan pokok (memukul sagu, berburu, dan menangkap ikan). Di dalam kawasan hutan itulah bahan makanan mereka berada. Selanjutnya di dalam kawasan hutan itu pula orang Tugutil membangun kesatuan rumah dan kesatuan pemukiman masing-masing, di samping sebagai tempat bagi leluhur serta diri mereka meninggal dan dikuburkan. Dapat dikatakan bahwa kesatuan hutan benar-benar merupakan wilayah pangkal bagi dinamika kehidupan orang Tugutil.

Antara keseluruhan orang Tugutil penghuni kesatuan hutan Dodaga dan kesatuan hutan Tutuling terdapat ikatan dan hubungan kekerabatan, baik

dalam batas kelompok konsanguinal ataupun kelompok afinal. Sangat disayangkan bahwa data terinci tentang hal tersebut tidak diperoleh. Tetapi dari hasil pengamatan dan pencatatan melalui wawancara selama pengumpulan data di lapangan terungkap bahwa di antara mereka pada umumnya saling mengenal dan saling menyatakan adanya hubungan kerabat tersebut.

Mereka menyatakan bahwa penghuni kesatuan hutan Tutuling dianggap berada dalam posisi yang lebih tua dibandingkan dengan penghuni kesatuan hutan Dodaga, karena nenek moyang mereka kakak beradik. Leluhur yang tua menurunkan penghuni kesatuan hutan Tutuling dan leluhur yang muda menurunkan penghuni kesatuan hutan Dodaga. Dalam pergaulan sehari-hari mereka menyebut penghuni kesatuan hutan Tutuling sebagai orang dari kesatuan hutan kesatu (*o hongana hara moi ma nyawa*) dan penghuni kesatuan hutan Dodaga sebagai orang dari kesatuan hutan kedua (*o hongana hara hinoto ma nyawa*). Sejalan dengan itu mereka menyebut kesatuan hutan Tutuling sebagai kesatuan hutan kesatu (*o hongana hara moi*) dan kesatuan hutan Dodaga sebagai kesatuan hutan kedua (*o hongana hara hinoto*).

Dalam kehidupan sehari-hari orang Tugutil terikat dan larut dalam kesatuan hutan masing-masing. Tetapi pada saat-saat tertentu, misalnya jika ada serangan dari luar atau akan menyerang musuh bersama, kedua kelompok bersatu di bawah pimpinan kepala bidang keamanan (*o kapita*) dari penghuni kesatuan hutan Tutuling. Dalam gerakan atau kegiatan bersama tersebut mereka selalu disertai pusaka atau obat (*o houru*) yang juga harus dipegang oleh *o kapita* dari penghuni kesatuan hutan Tutuling. *O houru* tersebut berupa darah kental yang telah mengering dari dua jenis binatang hutan yaitu darah babi hutan yang berkulit warna merah dan darah burung yang berbulu warna biru gelap. Pasangan benda atau sifat yang terkandung dalam obat tersebut mencerminkan kesatuan antara kedua penghuni kesatuan hutan yang bergerak bersama. Antara penghuni kesatuan hutan Tutuling dan penghuni kesatuan hutan Dodaga sebagai dua saudara kakak beradik dengan dipimpin oleh yang lebih tua. Jika masa-masa krisis telah terlampaui maka masing-masing kelompok kembali ke kesatuan hutan masing-masing dan hidup dalam keseharian yang pada dasarnya masing-masing bersifat mandiri.

Eksistensi kesatuan hutan Dodaga dan kesatuan hutan Tutuling dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, terutama dalam konteks kehidupan ekonomi, terpusat pada konsep tentang pemilikan dan penguasaan tanah (*o tonaka*) dan air (*o akere*) oleh leluhur (*o dimo-dimono*) serta pengelolaan dan pemanfaatannya oleh sesama manusia sebagai anak cucu (*o ngofa-ngofaka*). Tanah dan air dianggap sebagai sumber kehidupan baik kehidupan manusia itu

sendiri maupun kehidupan dari keseluruhan tanaman dan binatang yang merupakan bahan makanan manusia. Yang dimaksud dengan tanah dan air tersebut pada hakekatnya adalah hutan dengan seluruh isinya dan mata air serta seluruh aliran sungai, telaga atau rawa. Terhadap keseluruhan tanah dan air atau hutan dengan seluruh isinya tersebut manusia tidak berhak untuk memiliki atau menguasainya secara pribadi. Sebaliknya manusia berkewajiban untuk mengolah atau merawat dan memanfaatkannya bagi kehidupan bersama manusia yang lain. Leluhurlah yang dianggap sebagai pemilik dan penguasa utama.

Kelompok kekerabatan

Sebagai masyarakat yang bertempat tinggal dan hidup di dalam hutan, pengelompokan sosial berdasarkan prinsip kekerabatan merupakan salah satu kebutuhan yang utama dan memegang peranan penting dalam kehidupan sehari-hari orang Tugutil. Melalui ikatan di antara sesama anggota keluarga inti atau kesatuan rumah tangga sendiri setidaknya-tidaknya kebutuhan dasar akan kerjasama dapat terpenuhi. Orang Tugutil bahkan menempatkan keluarga inti atau kesatuan rumah tangga sebagai kelompok sosial yang mandiri. Dalam pada itu orang Tugutil mengenal juga sistem pengelompokan sesama anggota kerabat yang lebih luas, tetapi keberadaan dan peranannya dalam kehidupan sehari-hari tidak menonjol. Secara keseluruhan orang Tugutil mengorganisasikan sistem pengelompokan kerabat berdasarkan prinsip keturunan bilateral.

Keluarga inti

Sebagaimana telah dikemukakan di bagian depan, keberadaan keluarga inti atau kesatuan rumah tangga merupakan salah satu fenomena pokok dalam organisasi sosial orang Tugutil. Orang Tugutil menyebut 'keluarga inti' dan 'kesatuan rumah tangga', yang dalam pengertian secara akademis masing-masing berbeda, dengan istilah atau sebutan yang sama yaitu sebagai orang satu rumah (*o tau moi ma nyawa*).

Mengenai istilah atau sebutan *o tau moi ma nyawa* itu sendiri, menurut konsep orang Tugutil mengandung dua penekanan arti. Pertama, pengertian orang satu rumah yang lebih ditekankan pada segi fenomena sosial atau orangnya yaitu sebagai kesatuan penghuni yang terbatas pada satu keluarga inti atau lebih tepatnya satu kesatuan rumah tangga yaitu satu keluarga inti yang kadang-kadang ditambah dengan penghuni tambahan (*co-residence*). Kedua, pengertian orang satu rumah yang lebih ditekankan pada fenomena bangunan tempat tinggal yang hanya berupa satu kesatuan rumah. Dengan kata lain, menurut orang Tugutil, pengertian dan batasan

tentang keluarga inti itu identik dengan satu kesatuan rumah dan demikian pula sebaliknya pengertian dan batasan tentang kesatuan rumah itu identik dengan satu keluarga inti.

Seorang laki-laki atau perempuan dewasa akan diakui sebagai anggota masyarakat sepenuhnya dengan seluruh hak dan kewajiban sosial yang menyertainya apabila dia telah kawin dan membentuk keluarga inti tersendiri. Segera setelah kawin seseorang akan membuat rumah tempat dia bersama isteri atau suami dan anak-anaknya tinggal dan hidup membangun rumah tangganya, terlepas dari kesatuan rumah orang tua. Setiap keluarga inti baru ditandai oleh adanya satu kesatuan rumah yang baru pula, begitupun sebaliknya. Dalam kenyataan terdapat perkembangan yang tidak selalu sama atau tidak selalu sejalan dengan konsep dasar tersebut. Anak-anak dari suatu keluarga inti, terutama anak laki-laki, setelah mulai menginjak masa dewasa sering kali tidak lagi tinggal terus menerus bersama orang tuanya dalam satu kesatuan rumah yang sama. Biasanya mereka tinggal berpindah-pindah ikut anggota kerabat yang lain, tanpa melepaskan ikatan dan hubungan dengan orang tua sendiri. Kadang-kadang mereka tinggal sementara bersama saudara kandung atau saudara sepupu yang telah berkeuarga, atau bersama saudara-saudara kandung ayah atau ibu, atau bersama orang tua ayah atau ibu. Atau dilakukan secara bergantian. Alasan yang biasa dikemukakan dalam hal ini antara lain karena tenaga anak diperlukan untuk suatu kepentingan atau kegiatan tertentu, atau karena anak yang bersangkutan ingin mencari pengalaman baru atau kawan yang berusia sebaya. Jika sewaktu-waktu orang tua memanggil, mereka akan segera pulang. Atau sebaliknya, jika mereka mengalami persoalan atau kepentingan mereka akan pulang ke rumah orang tua. Tanggung jawab terhadap anak memang sepenuhnya berada pada orang tua sendiri, begitu pula sebaliknya. Kenyataan ini tentunya memberikan gambaran yang sama terhadap penghunian kesatuan rumah yang ada, yaitu kemungkinannya ada kesatuan rumah yang dihuni oleh satu kesatuan rumah tangga yang terdiri atas satu keluarga inti ditambah satu atau lebih penghuni tambahan.

Yang dimaksud dengan anak dalam sebuah keluarga inti bisa keturunan langsung sebagai hasil perkawinan kedua ayah dan ibu atau bisa juga melalui proses pengangkatan. Anak yang merupakan keturunan langsung melalui proses kelahiran disebut sebagai anak kandung (*o ngohaka ma dutu*). Sedangkan anak yang melalui proses pengangkatan dibedakan atas dua kategori yaitu anak angkat (*o ngohaka ma toraka*) dan anak piara (*o ngohaka ma piara*). Anak angkat, yang biasanya anak laki-laki dengan alasan utama karena dibutuhkan sebagai penerus garis keturunan, memiliki hak dan kewajiban yang sama dengan anak kandung. Sedangkan anak piara, ikatan dan hubungan sosial dengan orang tua kandung tidak putus tetapi ikatan dan hubungan sosial dengan orang tua piara juga tidak penuh sebagaimana hal-

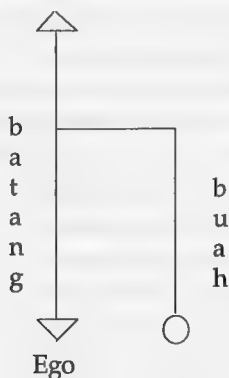
nya dengan anak kandung atau anak angkat.

Pengangkatan anak biasanya dilakukan pada waktu anak masih bayi atau kadang-kadang waktu anak masih berada dalam kandungan ibunya. Dalam hal pengangkatan anak waktu anak masih dalam kandungan berarti tanpa memperhatikan jenis kelamin anak. Jika seseorang bermaksud mengangkat anak maka dia harus datang menghubungi orang tua anak yang diinginkan, baik anak tersebut telah lahir atau masih berada dalam kandungan. Apabila orang tua kandung menyetujui, calon orang tua angkat tersebut menyerahkan sejumlah uang dan barang sebagai penukar dan sekaligus sebagai tanda pengesahan. Jenis barang yang diserahkan tergantung dari jenis kelamin anak yang diangkat. Untuk anak laki-laki alat penukarnya berupa barang laki-laki (*o nauru ma honanga*), antara lain: parang (*o dia*), tombak (*o kuama*), panah (*o toimi*). Sedangkan untuk anak perempuan alat penukarnya berupa barang perempuan (*o ngoheka ma honanga*), antara lain: tikar (*o tatapa*), ayakan (*o dedeta*), penjepit api (*o kakatama*), sapu lidi (*o hehekara*). Di samping uang dan barang, calon orang tua angkat biasanya membawa juga bahan makanan dan minuman untuk dimasak dan kemudian dimakan bersama. Tukar menukar ini dilakukan di hadapan anggota kerabat dekat orang tua kandung anak dan juga anggota kerabat dekat calon orang tua angkat. Selesai upacara tukar menukar anak dapat langsung diambil oleh orang tua angkat atau menunggu sampai anak berhenti menyusu ibu kandungnya atau bahkan menunggu sampai anak yang bersangkutan lahir. Anak angkat diperlakukan sebagaimana halnya anak kandung. Dia akan menerima warisan dari orang tua angkatnya baik berupa harta kekayaan dan barang pusaka maupun nama dan pengetahuan tentang obat-obatan misalnya, sama dengan hak anak kandung. Dalam pada itu ikatan dan hubungan sosial dengan orang tua kandung menjadi putus.

Pemeliharaan anak (*o ngohaka ho ma piara*) biasanya dilakukan terhadap anak yang telah tumbuh agak besar dan telah mulai bisa membantu bekerja dalam usaha mencari bahan makanan. Orang tua piara tidak harus menyerahkan sejumlah uang atau barang-barang tertentu sebagai alat penukar. Tetapi ada juga orang tua piara yang secara sukarela memberikan sejumlah uang dan atau barang seolah-olah sebagai pengganti air susu (*o huhu ma akere*) ibu kandung selama merawat dan membesarkan anak yang bersangkutan. Anak piara tidak memperoleh hak dan kewajiban sosial sepenuhnya sebagaimana halnya anak kandung atau anak angkat. Tetapi dalam hubungan dan pergaulan sehari-hari diperlakukan sama dengan terhadap anak kandung atau anak piara oleh orang tua piara. Dalam pada itu ikatan dan hubungan anak piara dengan orang tua kandung tidak terputus. Anak piara yang bersangkutan tetap masih berada di bawah tanggung jawab orang tua kandung sepenuhnya, walaupun tentu saja orang tua piara ikut juga

bertanggung jawab. Setiap manusia yang perkembangannya normal akan terikat oleh sekurang-kurangnya dua macam keluarga inti, yaitu oleh keluarga orientasi dan oleh keluarga prokreasi. Yang dimaksud dengan keluarga orientasi adalah keluarga inti dimana seseorang (Ego) dilahirkan, sedangkan keluarga prokreasi adalah keluarga inti yang dibentuk sendiri seseorang (Ego) yang bersangkutan (Murdock 1965:13). Pembentukan keluarga orientasi dan keluarga prokreasi di lingkungan orang Tugutil, beserta pola hubungan dan tingkah laku yang menyertainya, didasarkan atas konsep mereka tentang hakekat hubungan antara ayah dengan anak laki-laki dan antara ayah dengan anak perempuan dalam metafora 'batang - buah' sebagaimana tergambarkan dalam diagram di bawah ini.

Diagram 1. Metafora 'batang-buah' hubungan ayah-anak laki-laki dan ayah-anak perempuan.



Dalam lingkungan keluarga orientasi, Ego laki-laki (untuk selanjutnya yang dimaksud dengan Ego dalam tulisan ini adalah Ego laki-laki) dan semua saudara laki-laki Ego berada dalam satu garis utama yang menurun tetap dari 'batang' (*o utu*) ayah dan generasi keturunan vertikal di atasnya. Sedangkan saudara-saudara perempuan Ego, ibarat buah (*o hohoko*), berada dalam satu garis menyamping yang keluar dari 'batang' ayah dan generasi keturunan vertikal di atasnya. Dalam lingkungan keluarga prokreasi, Ego berada dalam satu garis utama yang menurun tetap kepada 'batang' anak laki-laki dan generasi keturunan vertikal di bawahnya. Sedangkan anak perempuan Ego berada dalam satu garis menyamping yang keluar dari 'batang' Ego dan ayah Ego serta generasi keturunan vertikal di atasnya. Isteri Ego berada dalam satu garis menyamping yang masuk dari 'batang' ayah isteri Ego dan generasi keturunan vertikal di atasnya.

Garis utama yang menurun tetap menggambarkan adanya hubungan dan peranan yang tetap sebagai pemegang dan penerus garis keturunan keluarga, dari kakek menurun ke ayah kemudian menurun lagi ke anak laki-

laki dan seterusnya (menurun secara patrilineal). Sedangkan garis menyamping yang masuk menggambarkan adanya hubungan yang tidak tetap, berasal dari 'batang' luar yang sewaktu-waktu dapat dikembalikan ke luar. Dalam hal ini, ibu Ego (isteri ayah Ego) dan isteri Ego, sewaktu-waktu dapat dikeluarkan atau dikembalikan kepada keluarga asalnya jika terjadi perceraian. Garis menyamping yang keluar juga menggambarkan adanya hubungan tidak tetap dalam pengertian di samping dapat dikeluarkan, sewaktu-waktu dapat juga dimasukkan kembali. Dalam hal ini anak perempuan yang dikeluarkan dari 'batang' keluarga pada waktu kawin dan dimasukkan kembali ke 'batang' keluarga jika terjadi perceraian.

Dalam pada itu orang Tugutil beranggapan juga bahwa siklus perkembangan kesatuan rumah tangga (*developmental cycle of domestic group*) mereka selalu berada di bawah pengawasan dan bahkan diikuti oleh ruh para leluhur. Siklus tersebut mencakup tiga fase perkembangan, dimulai dari saat perkawinan hingga lengkapnya anggota suatu keluarga inti sebagai fase pertama kemudian diikuti penyebaran melalui perkawinan anak-anak sebagai fase kedua dan akhirnya fase ketiga berupa tahap penggantian yaitu berakhirnya generasi tua digantikan oleh generasi yang lebih muda (Fortes 1958:4-5). Setiap anak dewasa yang melangsungkan perkawinan dan membentuk kesatuan rumah tangga baru, dengan ditandai oleh pembuatan kesatuan rumah tersendiri, tidak lepas dari pengawasan leluhur. Ruh leluhur akan selalu mengikuti kemanapun anak-cucunya pergi untuk bertempat tinggal dan melangsungkan kehidupan. Ruh leluhur tersebut bahkan dianggap menyatu dengan eksistensi setiap keluarga inti atau kesatuan rumah tangga baru yang terbentuk. Secara fisik fenomena ini digambarkan melalui selalu adanya para-para, tempat meletakkan makanan dan minuman bagi ruh leluhur, sebagai salah satu kelengkapan pokok kesatuan rumah. Dengan kata lain, menurut pandangan orang Tugutil, keanggotaan suatu keluarga inti pada dasarnya bukan hanya menyangkut ayah dan ibu beserta anak-anak mereka tetapi termasuk juga ruh leluhur yang mengikutinya sebagai satu kesatuan yang bulat. Demikian pula jaringan interelasi yang terbentuk di dalamnya meliputi hubungan-hubungan sosial dan spiritual di antara keseluruhan anggota keluarga tersebut.

Seorang ayah atau suami di lingkungan keluarga inti atau kesatuan rumah tangganya bertindak selaku orang yang dituakan (*o dimono*), sebagai kepala keluarga (*o tau moi ma nyawa ma haeke*). Dengan dipimpin oleh kepala keluarga masing-masing setiap kesatuan rumah tangga harus berusaha untuk dapat memenuhi kebutuhan hidup seluruh anggotanya, baik kebutuhan dalam bidang ekonomi maupun kebutuhan bidang sosial dan spiritual.

Sebagai unit ekonomi yang mandiri, misalnya, setiap kesatuan rumah tangga bekerja dan mengorganisasikan usaha pencarian bahan makanan di

antara anggota keluarganya sendiri. Sistem pembagian kerja dan kerjasama biasanya dilakukan sesuai dengan kebutuhan, tanpa mengabaikan sama sekali prinsip-prinsip dasar yang berlaku. Terhadap prinsip bahwa pada dasarnya mencari bahan makanan adalah pekerjaan laki-laki (ayah dan anak laki-laki dewasa) dan mengolah bahan makanan serta menyajikannya adalah pekerjaan perempuan (ibu dan anak perempuan dewasa) dalam kenyataan tidak diikuti sepenuhnya. Apalagi dalam konteks kehidupan di dalam hutan yang membuat mereka sering berpindah tempat tinggal, kerjasama internal di lingkungan keluarga sendiri sangat diperlukan. Dalam hal ini peranan kepala keluarga bersifat menentukan. Demikian juga halnya jika suatu kesatuan rumah tangga menyelenggarakan upacara penghormatan kepada ruh leluhur (*o gomanga*). Semua kegiatan pada dasarnya merupakan tanggung jawab seluruh anggota keluarga yang bersangkutan, walaupun selalu ada anggota kerabat lain atau sesama penghuni kesatuan pemukiman yang membantu. Penyelenggaraan *o gomanga* memang merupakan kegiatan yang bersifat khusus. Di samping memerlukan adanya tenaga bantuan, ada beberapa bagian pekerjaan (memasak makanan, menyiapkan alat-alat upacara, membuat hiasan) yang harus dikerjakan oleh orang-orang tertentu yang dianggap ahli. Dalam pada itu upacaranya sendiri, sebagai inti kegiatan, tetap harus dipimpin oleh kepala keluarga yang bersangkutan walaupun masih muda dan banyak anggota kerabat dekat yang lebih tua hadir.

Kemandirian keluarga inti atau kesatuan rumah tangga tidak bersifat mutlak. Dalam beberapa kegiatan, terutama yang berkaitan dengan peristiwa perkawinan dan kematian, setiap keluarga inti justru tidak dapat meninggalkan peranan dan keterlibatan anggota kerabat yang lain. Perkawinan seseorang bukan hanya semata-mata tanggung jawab orang tua yang bersangkutan tetapi dianggap sebagai urusan yang secara konseptual melibatkan kepentingan dan tanggung jawab anggota kerabat yang lain juga. Lebih-lebih dalam hal peristiwa kematian, anggota keluarga yang bersangkutan justru dihindarkan dari beberapa kegiatan terutama yang berkaitan langsung dengan perawatan dan penguburan mayat karena dianggap sebagai pihak yang sedang menderita paling dalam. Kegiatan-kegiatan tersebut biasanya dilakukan oleh anggota kerabat yang lain dan sesama penghuni kesatuan pemukiman yang ada.

Kelompok kerabat dekat

Orang Tugutil merasa diri bahwa satu dengan yang lain merupakan satu keturunan, sebagai satu asal (*o ahali moi*), walaupun dalam kenyataan di antara mereka tidak selalu ada kontak sosial atau bahkan tidak saling mengenal. Orang Tugutil juga merasa saling terikat oleh adanya persamaan

darah dan daging, sebagaimana mereka menyebut diri sebagai satu darah dan satu daging (*o awunu moi de o akeme moi*). *O ahali moi* ataupun *o awunu moi de o akeme moi* tersebut merupakan konsep pengelompokan sosial yang terlalu luas dan batasnya kabur. Kedua istilah itu sendiri mencerminkan ikatan dan hubungan yang bersifat menyeluruh.

Dalam konsep orang Tugutil sebutan *o ahali moi* atau *o awunu moi de o akeme moi* secara umum digunakan dalam tiga tingkat pengertian. Dalam pengertian tingkat pertama terbatas pada kelompok kerabat dekat yaitu mereka yang berada dalam batas keturunan dua generasi ke atas dan dua generasi ke bawah Ego, baik dari garis laki-laki maupun dari garis perempuan. Kelompok kerabat dekat inilah yang merupakan 'kindred' yaitu kelompok kerabat berdasarkan pengelompokan yang berpusat pada Ego.

Dalam pengertian tingkat kedua dimaksudkan sebagai kelompok orang Tugutil yang merasa diri satu keturunan dari leluhur yang sama. Sedangkan dalam pengertian tingkat ketiga ditujukan kepada semua orang Tugutil di Halmahera tanpa memperhitungkan batas keturunan ataupun batas kewilayahan tempat tinggal.

Pada dasarnya orang Tugutil tidak membedakan secara tegas antara garis laki-laki dan garis perempuan dalam menentukan kelompok kekerabatan mereka. Secara normatif kedua garis keturunan tersebut diakui dan digunakan dalam kedudukan yang sama. Semua orang Tugutil yang berada dalam posisi keturunan garis vertikal ke atas dari Ego disebut sebagai leluhur (*o dimo-dimono*) yang sering juga disebut sebagai nenek-moyang. Mereka yang berada dalam posisi keturunan garis vertikal ke bawah dari Ego disebut sebagai anak-cucu (*o ngofa-ngofaka*). Sedangkan mereka yang berada dalam posisi hubungan kerabat horizontal dari Ego disebut sebagai kakak-adik (*o ria-dodoto*). Yang dimaksud dengan satu keturunan di sini termasuk mereka yang berada dalam kategori anak angkat. Sistem pengelompokan kerabat berdasarkan prinsip bilateral ini mengakibatkan terciptanya ikatan dan batas-batas hubungan sosial yang longgar atau bahkan tidak terbatas. Eksistensi kelompoknya sendiri menjadi bersifat abstrak. Dalam praktek kehidupan sehari-hari sistem pengelompokan tersebut tidak berfungsi sama sekali.

Untuk dapat terpenuhinya kebutuhan praktis berkaitan dengan fungsi kelompok kekerabatan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, orang Tugutil mengembangkan prinsip tambahan yang bersifat selektif yaitu prinsip pemusatan. Yang dimaksud dengan prinsip pemusatan di sini adalah menghitung anggota kerabat hanya terbatas pada tingkat generasi tertentu ke atas dan ke bawah dari Ego. Dalam hal ini orang Tugutil membatasinya pada dua generasi ke atas (generasi +1 dan +2) dan dua generasi ke bawah (generasi -1 dan -2). Kelompok yang terbentuk disebut sebagai kelompok kerabat dekat, atau *o awunu moi* dalam pengertian tingkat pertama. Jadi

seluruh keturunan Ego yang berada dalam batas-batas tersebut, baik mereka yang tergolong dalam keturunan garis lurus maupun keturunan garis menyamping dan keturunan yang diangkat, dianggap sebagai anggota kelompok kerabat dekat Ego. Dalam pergaulan sehari-hari pada umumnya orang Tugutil memang hanya dapat mengenal dengan baik sesama anggota kerabat sampai batas generasi ayah dan ibu (G +1) dan generasi kakek dan nenek (G +2) serta generasi anak (G -1) dan generasi cucu (G -2).

Dalam batas kelompok kerabat dekat inilah fungsi ikatan keluarga luas dapat diikuti dalam kehidupan orang Tugutil. Tetapi peranan yang diberikan hanya bersifat konsultatif atau koordinatif, karena tanggung jawab akhir dalam setiap aktivitas di semua bidang kehidupan tetap berada sepenuhnya pada masing-masing keluarga inti yang bersangkutan. Walaupun demikian dalam beberapa kegiatan tertentu, terutama dalam peristiwa perkawinan dan kematian, peranan kelompok kerabat dekat tersebut tidak dapat ditinggalkan. Bukan hanya karena pertimbangan-pertimbangan teknis ketenagaan, tetapi secara konseptual kelompok kerabat dekat memang ikut berkepentingan dan ikut bertanggungjawab terhadap peristiwa-peristiwa tersebut. Perkawinan dan kematian, di samping juga kelahiran, merupakan bagian dari proses siklus perkembangan kesatuan rumah tangga. Peristiwa-peristiwa tersebut, yang terjadi di lingkungan suatu keluarga inti atau kesatuan rumah tangga, akan menimbulkan konsekuensi demografis dan konsekuensi sosial tertentu yang jelas akan mempengaruhi komposisi dan kepentingan kelompok kerabat dekat yang bersangkutan.

Dalam pelaksanaan perkawinan, misalnya dalam hal membicarakan dan mengadakan mas kawin (*o huba*) dan penutup malu (*o mayeke ma dada-toko*) yang harus diserahkan kepada pihak mempelai perempuan, anggota kerabat dekat mempelai laki-laki ikut terlibat dan bertanggung jawab secara langsung. Di antara anggota kerabat yang menyatakan sanggup diadakan pembagian tanggungjawab tentang siapa menyediakan barang apa atau uang seberapa banyak atau melakukan apa dan sebagainya. Demikian juga pada pihak mempelai perempuan. Anggota kerabat dekat ikut dalam membicarakan dan menentukan tentang besarnya uang dan barang yang harus diserahkan oleh pihak keluarga mempelai laki-laki sebagai mas kawin dan penutup malu. Dalam pelaksanaan upacara perkawinannya sendiri keberadaan anggota kerabat dekat berperan penting juga dalam kaitannya dengan faktor pengesahan secara adat.

Dalam hal pemilihan jodoh, yaitu tentang siapa yang boleh kawin dengan siapa, batas-batas kelompok kerabat dekat bahkan merupakan salah satu faktor yang ikut menentukan. Orang Tugutil melarang sesama anggota kerabat dekat saling mengambil suami atau isteri, karena mereka dianggap masih satu asal atau masih satu darah dan satu daging. Pelanggaran ter-

hadap ketentuan tersebut dianggap sebagai melakukan perkawinan sumbang (*incest*) yang merupakan pelanggaran adat leluhur.

Jika seseorang meninggal, apalagi jika yang bersangkutan termasuk orang berusia lanjut atau orang yang dituakan, penguburan mayat akan dilakukan setelah sebanyak mungkin anggota kerabat dekat berkumpul. Dalam kenyataan hal ini memang tidak selalu dapat dilaksanakan. Kesatuan-kesatuan rumah ataupun kesatuan-kesatuan pemukiman yang tersebar luas dengan jarak yang saling berjauhan tidak memungkinkan mereka dapat berkumpul dalam waktu yang singkat. Tetapi yang jelas, mereka yang merasa diri berada dalam ikatan kerabat dekat dengan seseorang yang meninggal tersebut merasa ikut kehilangan dan ikut bertanggung jawab secara langsung terutama dalam hal perawatan dan penguburan mayat.

Kesimpulan

Menunjuk kata-kata Van Wouden (1968) yang dikemukakan pada awal tulisan sebagai asumsi dasar, dapat dikemukakan bahwa dalam mengembangkan organisasi sosial tampaknya orang Tugutil berorientasi kuat pada pandangan kosmologi sosial mereka. Ikatan dan hubungan timbal balik manusia dengan sesama, dengan alam sekitar, dengan leluhur serta dunia gaib yang lain, dan bahkan dengan hakekat kehidupan itu sendiri tampak jelas mewarnai sistem pengelompokan sosial mereka baik dalam bentuk kesatuan hidup setempat maupun kelompok-kelompok kekerabatan.

Konsep dasar orang Tugutil tentang satu kesatuan rumah (*o tau moi*) misalnya, melalui struktur fisik bangunan, mengungkapkan adanya kaitan fungsional antar bagian atau komponen utamanya yang menunjuk kepada pandangan kosmologi sosial mereka. Bahwa betapapun sederhananya, setiap kesatuan rumah harus memiliki lima komponen pokok, yaitu: balai-balai untuk tidur, dapur, perapian, balai-balai untuk menerima tamu, dan para-para. Kesatuan rumah bukan hanya semata-mata sebagai tempat tinggal tetapi mengandung arti juga sebagai fenomena yang eksistensinya menyatu dengan seluruh kehidupan anggota kesatuan rumah tangga penghuninya. Dalam pada itu keluarga inti yang disebut juga sebagai orang satu rumah (*o tau moi ma nyawa*) tidak dipandang hanya sebagai ikatan sejumlah individu (ayah dan ibu beserta anak-anak mereka) tetapi keanggotaannya mencakup juga ruh leluhur. Ruh leluhur dianggap selalu mengawasi dan bahkan menyertai kehidupan anak-cucu di manapun mereka bertempat tinggal dan hidup di dunia. Keluarga inti menurut orang Tugutil sepenuhnya merupakan kelompok sosial dan spiritual.

Keluarga inti sebagai penghuni satu kesatuan rumah merupakan bentuk pengelompokan yang paling kecil dan berperanan sentral dalam kehidupan

orang Tugutil sebagai masyarakat penghuni hutan yang bersifat egaliter. Setiap keluarga inti adalah sekaligus sebagai unit ekonomi, unit sosial dan unit spiritual yang mandiri. Demikian juga dalam konteks mobilitas geografis. Tetapi kemandirian keluarga inti tersebut tidak bersifat mutlak. Dalam kegiatan-kegiatan tertentu yang berkaitan langsung dengan pihak-pihak yang lebih luas, misalnya dalam peristiwa perkawinan dan kematian, dinamika keluarga inti tersebut tetap berada dalam kontrol dan kendali ikatan kelompok kerabat dekat yang berfungsi sebagai lembaga konsultatif atau lembaga koordinatif. Demikian juga dalam hal mobilitas geografis yang dilakukan oleh masing-masing kesatuan rumah. Walaupun pada dasarnya masing-masing kesatuan rumah relatif bebas dalam melakukan perpindahan, tetapi dalam kenyataan tetap berada dalam kontrol kesatuan hutan sebagai batas kesatuan wilayah tempat tinggal. Dalam pada itu kesatuan hutan itu sendiri dianggap berada di bawah pemilikan dan penguasaan leluhur yang bersifat supra-individual.

Hal lain yang menampakkan peranan dominannya dalam sistem dan dinamika organisasi sosial orang Tugutil adalah faktor perbedaan jenis kelamin. Peranan tersebut secara fundamental terungkap melalui sistem klasifikasi sosial yang melandasi berbagai pemikiran dan aktivitas mereka baik dalam kehidupan ekonomi maupun kehidupan sosial dan spiritual. Orang Tugutil menempatkan pembagian peran laki-laki dan perempuan dalam hubungannya dengan masalah yang paling mendasar yaitu tentang hakekat kehidupan manusia. Dalam hal ini laki-laki dianggap sebagai pemilik dan penguasa sekaligus penghancur suatu kehidupan, sedangkan perempuan dianggap sebagai sumber dan pemberi serta penyebar kehidupan. Keduanya saling berlawanan tetapi sekaligus juga saling melengkapi dan saling membutuhkan, sebagai pasangan yang memungkinkan terjadinya kelangsungan hidup manusia baik sebagai individu maupun sebagai jenis. Manifestasi dari konsep dasar tentang klasifikasi sosial berdasarkan perbedaan jenis kelamin tersebut nampak antara lain melalui berbagai tingkah laku dan aktivitas dalam kerangka kesatuan hidup setempat dan kelompok kekerabatan, di samping dalam kerangka kehidupan ekonomi yang menyangkut baik aspek produksi maupun aspek-aspek distribusi dan konsumsi.

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D.J. NIJLAND

Film en non-verbale cultuuruitingen bij de Tobelo

'Ah... ini... menurut pengalaman saya dilihat dengan jajaran mata, bahwa satu penarikan terhadap saya, karena sekarang ini dari laki baki sudah mengadakan suatu keputusan bersama dengan perempuan... dari pihak perempuan ini ternyata bahwa yang terletak di atas meja dan imbalanpun ditengah-tengah mereka. Karena ini ada salawaku dan ditengah ini peroso higi.'

'Ah, dit [de foto hiernaast]... volgens mijn ervaring, gezien met eigen ogen... dit is interessant voor mij, want op dit moment hebben de bruidnemers al een beslissing [in de zin van een overeenkomst] samen met de... met de bruidevers genomen... Dat blijkt uit datgene dat op de tafel staat en de tegenprestatie staat er tussen in. Want dit is het schild en in het midden staat een peroso higi.'¹

Bovenstaande is een reactie van een Tobelo woonachtig op Noord-Halmahera naar aanleiding van een beeld uit de aldaar terugvertoonde etnografische film 'Tobelo Marriage'. Enkele van soortgelijke reacties, die vooral non-verbale aspecten betreffen, worden in dit artikel naar voren gebracht. Door de aard van de methode geven de reacties op een specifieke manier een bevestiging of detaillering van de door Platenkamp verzamelde informatie (Platenkamp 1988). Tevens komt bij dit onderzoek het belang naar voren welke audiovisuele middelen kunnen hebben voor cultureel-antropologisch onderzoek, met name voor non-verbale aspecten.²

¹ Torenvormige gevlochten mand gevuld met rauwe rijst waarvan meerdere tijdens het Tobelorees huwelijksritueel in de uitwisseling worden ingebracht door de bruidevers. ... in de tekst betekent, dat de spreker hier pauzeert.

² De in dit artikel behandelde zaken zijn onderdeel van een groter geheel naar voren gebracht in Nijland 1989. De etnografische film 'Tobelo Marriage' (opnamen 1982, première 1985; 16mm, kleur, 108 min., Engels commentaar, optisch geluid; Grand Prix 'Nanook' op het Sixième Bilan du Film Ethnographique, Parijs 1987; Margaret Mead Film Festival Selection, New York 1989; 'Honorable Mention', Society for Visual Anthropology, American Anthropological Association, Chicago 1991) werd gemaakt door de auteur, die in zijn beschrijvende aanpak sterk steunde op inzichten ontwikkeld door Dauer, De France, Gerbrands en Heider. Hij maakte de film in nauwe samenwerking met Jos Platenkamp die in het kader van het Halmahera Research Project in de periode 1979-80 anderhalf jaar cultureel antropologisch veldwerk deed bij de Tobelo, Noord-Molukken, Indonesië. Verder bestond het filmteam uit Lis Asinoellah (Universitas Indonesia) en Frans Rijoly (Museum SiwaLima, Ambon). De film werd mogelijk gemaakt door een subsidie van de Stichting voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek

Audiovisuele middelen en cultureel-antropologisch onderzoek

Audiovisuele middelen hebben belangrijke mogelijkheden voor antropologisch onderzoek. Door het vastleggen van activiteiten kunnen deze bij herhaling worden bestudeerd hetgeen de bewustwording van de gegeven handelingen in context aanzienlijk kan vergroten in vergelijking met een directe observatie. Daarnaast is het voor verdere informatieverwerving mogelijk gegeven registraties terug te vertonen/laten horen. Dit is de zogenaamde *feedback*-methode die kan leiden tot spontane reacties van intense aard over zaken waar de onderzoeker dikwijls nog geen weet van heeft en dus ook niet naar kan vragen. Verder is een dergelijke registratie zeer dienstig als controlemiddel voor de participanten op de door de onderzoeker tot uitdrukking gebrachte visie op het gebeuren. De methode is ook zeer bevorderend voor de communicatie tussen onderzoeker en participanten over specificiteiten van het gebeuren doordat men elkaar zaken op het scherm kan aanwijzen. Audiovisuele registraties maken verder de vergelijking mogelijk tussen soortgelijke activiteiten, zowel binnen één cultuur als intercultureel. Dan kan nog gewezen worden op de hantering van audiovisuele middelen door de participanten zelf, waardoor een specifieke entree op onder andere hun waarnemings- en kenvermogen verkregen kan worden.

Zover ons bekend is voor het eerst door de Fransman Regnault geweest op mogelijkheden die audiovisuele middelen hebben voor cultureel-antropologisch onderzoek. In 1895 maakt hij 'chronofotografische' opnamen (circa 12 per seconde) van activiteiten uitgevoerd door Wolof, Peul en Dioula (West-Afrika). Een paar jaar later stelt hij dat door dergelijke opnamen activiteiten pas goed kunnen worden geanalyseerd en vergeleken, waarmee 'l'ethnographie une science précise' wordt (Rouch 1968:436). Van Haddon weet men dat hij voor documentatiedoeleinden fotografie en cinematografie enthousiast heeft toegepast (Haddon 1899). Ook werden in 1898 tijdens de Cambridge Anthropological Expedition foto's terugvertoond aan

van de Tropen (WOTRO-NWO). In hetzelfde kader werd ook de etnografische film 'Sahu Harvest Festival' (opnamen 1982, première 1985; 16mm, kleur, 90 min., Engels commentaar, optisch geluid) bij de Sahu op Noord-Halmahera opgenomen door Saskia Jouwersma in nauwe samenwerking met Leontine Visser. De laatste had daar toen anderhalf jaar onderzoek verricht.

In 1978, bij de eerste omschrijving van het Halmahera Research Project, wees Dr. E.K.M. Masinambow (LEKNAS-LIPI) op het belang van cinematografische documentatie. Cinematografische documentatie was en is bij de Vakgroep Culturele Antropologie en Sociologie der Niet-Westerse Samenlevingen te Leiden geen onbekende activiteit bij het bedrijven van etnografie. Toen Gerbrands in 1966 aldaar als hoogleraar werd aangesteld, benadrukte hij het belang van onderzoek en documentatie van non-verbale communicatievormen, een studieveld dat hij later 'Etnocommunicatie' noemt (Gerbrands 1966, 1969, 1990). Daarbij spelen fotografie, video en film een belangrijke rol. De auteur werd in 1971 als medewerker van Gerbrands aangesteld.

de inwoners van Murray Island die Haddon daar tijdens een eerder bezoek in 1888 had genomen. In hoeverre dit terugvertonen van beeldmateriaal toentertijd het onderzoek heeft gediend is onbekend. Als communicatiemiddel werd film in 1920-1921 zeer bewust gebruikt door Flaherty bij de opnamen voor de film 'Nanook of the North'. De opnamen werden ter plaatse ontwikkeld en vertoond aan de spelers, niet alleen om hun het resultaat te laten zien, maar ook om met hen de volgende opnamen voor te bereiden (Rotha and Wright 1980:43). Deze vorm van samenwerking heeft zeker bijgedragen tot de specifieke kwaliteit van deze klassieke etnografische film. Flaherty's werkwijze staat aan de basis van allerlei tegenwoordige vormen van samenwerkingsverbanden bij het maken van films in andere culturen, die soms echter niet veel meer te maken hebben met de etnografische film 'pur sang' (Dauer 1980; De France 1982; Folmer 1992; Heider 1975 en bijvoorbeeld Lansing 1989). De fotografie wordt, zover bekend, pas echt als *feedback*-stimulus gebruikt door Marcel Griaule tijdens de Mission Dakar-Djibouti in het begin van de jaren dertig (Griaule 1943:61, 1937; Clifford 1988:68). Het eerste gebruik van fotografie en film op grotere schaal voor analyse en vergelijking van gedrag vindt men in de periode 1937-39 bij Bateson en Mead bij hun onderzoek van non-verbale communicatie tussen ouders en kind in relatie met persoonlijkheidsvorming op Bali (Bateson and Mead 1942; Mead and Macgregor 1951).

Na de Tweede Wereldoorlog neemt het gebruik van audiovisuele middelen binnen het antropologisch onderzoek geleidelijk toe, vooral in de Verenigde Staten van Amerika. Dit is het gevolg van een groeiende interesse voor vormen van non-verbale communicatie (Birdwhistell 1971; Hall 1959, 1966, 1977; Hockings 1975; Lomax 1968; McQuown n.d.; Mead 1975; Ruesch en Kees 1956; voor aandacht van eerder datum zie Nijland 1989:47). In 1967 publiceert Collier zijn *Visual Anthropology; Photography as a Research Method*, waarin hij met concrete voorbeelden wijst op de mogelijkheden die fotografie biedt voor het analyseren en vergelijken van ruimtelijke ordeningen, technologieën en bijvoorbeeld sociale interacties. Met name voor technologieën wijst hij op het 'acted out' interview. Hierbij geeft de participant aan - eventueel gestimuleerd door een niet optimaal representerende fotoserie gemaakt door de antropoloog - welke significante momenten van een door hem uitgevoerd technologisch proces moeten worden gefotografeerd.³ Daarnaast benadrukt Collier dat het fotograferen door de onderzoeker kan functioneren als een 'can-opener' voor de opbouw

³ Let op de zekere overeenkomst met de, door meerdere antropologen bekritiseerde aanpak van Flaherty, die in 'Nanook of the North' de spelers voor de camera aspecten van hun dagelijks leven liet spelen. Zie ook de benadering van De France met de 'cinéma d'exploration' die leidt tot de 'cinéma d'exposition', een zo optimaal mogelijke audiovisuele representatie van het gebeuren (De France 1982).

van 'rapport' en het verwerven van informatie bij het terugvertonen van de gemaakte foto's aan de participanten.

'Photographs sharpen the memory and give the interview an immediate character. The informant is back on his fishing vessel, working out in the woods, or carrying through a skillful craft. The projective opportunity of the photographs offers a gratifying sense of self-expression as the informant is able to explain and identify content and educate the interviewer with his wisdom [...]. As we move from factual to projective reading of photographs by natives, we must be concerned with the complete content of *all* the emotional and evocative elements that can be documented by the camera. Reasonably, the richer the photographs the more intense the potential projective response.' (Collier 1967:48-9.)

Gerbrands, sinds de jaren vijftig in Leiden bezig met toepassingen van fotografie en film binnen de culturele antropologie, wijst ook op de onverwacht activerende werking die de terugvertoning van beeld kan hebben en gist naar het achterliggend psychisch proces:

'In film (of foto) vastgelegd gedrag blijkt bij vertoning voor de gefilmde (of gefotografeerde) personen psychologische en emotionele weerstanden te kunnen wegnemen, of juist reacties te kunnen oproepen, welke bij toepassing van meer traditionele methoden van onderzoek óf niet overwonnen konden worden, óf niet aan het licht kwamen. Men zou kunnen spreken van een neiging tot een soort geestelijk exhibitionisme.' (Gerbrands 1971:32.)

Hij onderstreept het belang van deze onderzoekstechniek voor nonverbale aspecten omdat het informatie naar voren kan brengen die door de onderzoeker met verbale stimuli niet opgeroepen kon worden omdat hij nog geen vermoeden heeft van de betreffende significantie en/of niet beschikt over de juiste woordkeus met de daaraan verbonden voorstellingswereld van de betreffende cultuur (Gerbrands 1969, 1971:31-2). Daarbij wijst hij op het ééndimensionale karakter van de taal in tegenstelling tot het multidimensionale karakter van het beeld.⁴

Onder anderen ook De France in haar zeer relevante publicatie *Cinéma et Anthropologie* attendeert op de wezenlijk extra-inbreng die beeld als stimulus boven taal kan hebben bij onderzoek (De France 1982:7, 305).⁵

⁴ Gerbrands ziet de taal binnen onderzoek en rapportage als ééndimensionaal en het beeld als multidimensionaal. De taal kan alleen een situatie beschrijven via een reeks woorden die slechts achter elkaar en dus stuk voor stuk kunnen worden overgedragen waardoor langzaam een voorstelling van die situatie door een ander kan worden opgebouwd. Het statische beeld, zoals de foto, kan een dergelijke situatie in al zijn details én contextuele arrangering tegelijk geven, of het zou er althans uit 'afgelezen' kunnen worden. Nog een dimensie komt er bij met film en video die het mogelijk maken een complexe situatie met allerlei handelingen in zijn dynamiek te volgen. Ook Kapferer spreekt letterlijk in deze zin over het multidimensionale karakter van het beeld. Bij zijn onderzoek naar uitdrijvingsrituelen op Sri Lanka (Kapferer 1983) gebruikte hij videoregistraties voor gedetailleerde analyse. Hij ziet dergelijke ondersteuning van de observatie als essentieel voor een verantwoorde etnografische kennisverwerving (mondelinge mededeling).

⁵ Het is goed te bedenken dat Dieterlen, die De France in dit verband noemt, nauw heeft

Een visie op de cultureel bepaalde realiteit en het kenvermogen

Door het onderzoek bij de Tobelo en bestudering van andere recente gegevens, bijvoorbeeld uit de neuropsychologie, is schrijver dezes er van overtuigd geraakt dat de non-verbale aspecten van een cultuur absoluut meer aandacht verdienen. Dit mede voor een beter begrip van de betekenis van de betreffende woordenschat en dus essentieel voor de etnografische kennisverwerving. De te onderzoeken cultureel bepaalde werkelijkheid met het direct daaraan verbonden waarnemings- en kenvermogen van de participanten zou in dit verband als volgt kunnen worden omschreven.

1. Symbolen en hun complexen worden in het algemeen gedefinieerd als enerzijds bestaande uit concepten of ideeën die hiërarchisch geordend zijn door waarden, en anderzijds uit vehikels, betekenisdragers die deze betekenissen kunnen overdragen. Zo worden ook de 'uitingen' van een cultuur – ruimtelijke ordening, voorwerpen, gebruiksgoederen, handelingen, muziek en verbale taaluitingen – en de door die cultuur geduide natuur gezien als stelsels van betekenisdragers (communicatie van informatie) of als gevolgen van opvattingen over de duiding en aanwending van energie en materie. Het is nooit de kern van de cultuur, de betekenissen of opvattingen zelf, die naar buiten treedt.⁶

2. De koppeling tussen ideeën, waarden of opvattingen en hun betekenisdragers of uitvoeringspatronen vindt alleen plaats in de hersenpan van de participant. Met name moeten hier de 'mentale sjablones' voor produktie en waarneming van betekenisdragers en voor het uitvoering geven aan handelingspatronen in verband met de aanwending van materie en energie, een grote rol spelen.⁷

3. Ideeën en waarden en de bijbehorende mentale sjablones zijn in de hersenpan van de participant gebundeld tot configuratieve gehelen. De cultureel bepaalde emoties spelen hierbij een belangrijke rol en lijken de waarden te bekrachtigen. Het is daarbij goed te bedenken dat een bepaalde uiting van een participant slechts de uiting lijkt van een zeer klein deel van zijn denkwereld, dat echter latent in zijn geheel blijft meespelen, bijvoor-

samengewerkt met Griaule die, zoals vermeld, al in de begin jaren dertig fotografie als stimulus gebruikte. Zie ook opmerkingen van Clifford over de waarde die Griaule bij onderzoek in eerste instantie aan de visuele expressie van de betreffende cultuur boven de taalkundige expressie zou hebben gegeven (Clifford 1988:67).

⁶ Zie het onderscheid dat De France maakt tussen 'techniques corporelles', 'techniques matérielles' en 'techniques rituelles' en daarmee in verband 'ritualité ponctuelle' en 'ritualité diffuse' (De France 1982; Nijland 1989:92).

⁷ Het begrip 'mentale sjablone' is een verdere ontwikkeling van het 'image acoustique' van Ferdinand de Saussure. Hij zag dit als wezenlijker dan de 'signifiant', de geuite vorm van de betekenisdrager. Leach bracht in deze het begrip 'sense image' naar voren (De Saussure 1967:98, Leach 1976:19, Nijland 1989:42, 74).

beeld ten aanzien van de context van de over te dragen betekenis.

4. Dit geeft mede een soort van configurerende vervorming in de waarneming van de participant die de buitenstaander nooit geheel zal kennen, evenmin als de duiding ten aanzien van de betekenis die de participant aan die waarneming geeft. Hier ligt mede de kern van het begrip 'cultureel bepaalde realiteit', waarbij deze werkelijkheid bestaat uit de gehelen van betekenisdragers met de daaraan gekoppelde complexen van ideeën en waarden die hen configureren.

5. De mentale sjablonen en de direct daarmee verbonden vehikels voor de overdracht van betekenissen, alsook de mentale sjablonen voor de uitvoering van technieken voor de aanwending van materie en energie zijn in de meeste gevallen zowel van non-verbale als van verbale aard. De potentiële relatie tussen deze twee wordt goed weergegeven door het volgende citaat van de *écrivain-artiste* Auster:

'He realized that for Ponge there was no division between the work of writing and the work of seeing. For no word be written without first having been seen, and before it finds its way to the page it must first have been part of the body, a physical presence that one has lived with in the same way one lives with one's heart, one's stomach, and one's brain.' (Auster 1988:138.)

6. Het visuele zintuig van de mens lijkt inderdaad uiterst belangrijk te zijn voor communicatie en oriëntatie met de buitenwereld. Van de circa 300 miljoen zintuigcellen zijn er ongeveer 200 miljoen bij de visuele waarneming betrokken, zoals ook 4 van de 12 zenuwbundels die de hersenen met haar omgeving verbinden (Bloom and Lazerson 1988:94; Schade 1984:239).⁸

7. Daarnaast is het fysiek actieve, waar Auster ook op duidt, uiterst belangrijk. Het doen (of handelen) is niet alleen essentieel door het historisch resultaat: het geheel van voorwerpen, ruimtelijke ordening en ander tastbaar resultaat van handelen als statische uitdrukking van een cultuur. Het is ook door het doen (het zich verplaatsen, het beginnen met werken en uitvoeren van vormen van non-verbale communicatie) en de daaraan gekoppelde ervaringen (denk mede aan de opbouw van de driedimensionele waarneming) dat men in de enculturatie de non-verbale mentale sjablonen 'leert' – in samenhang met ideeën, waarden en verbale mentale sjablonen – betreffende de cultureel bepaalde omgeving en handelingen. Zo wordt men participant, bij wie gevoelens van identiteit en gemeenschap vooral worden geactiveerd door die culturele bepaalde vormen van het doen, het handelen.

8. Daarbij moet worden gewezen op dat gedeelte van de hersenen dat omschreven wordt als 'het limbische systeem'. Met de thalamus heeft dit

⁸ Zie voor het belang van het zien ten opzichte van het horen (taal) voor ontwikkeling van denkstructuren Piaget 1972:79.

complex een enorme coördinerende en configurerende functie. Papez beschreef het in 1937 al als een verbindend ketencomplex via welke gevoelens, gedachten, waarnemen en motoriek elkaar beïnvloeden (Bloom and Lazerson 1988:210; Schade 1984:168). Vooral bij het non-verbale handelen kan via de motoriek een sterke ervaring optreden via interne sensoren. Dit kan zeer wel direct te maken met gevoelens van identiteit, en meer in het bijzonder met gevoelens van gemeenschap tijdens rituelen. Durkheim wees al hierop in het begin van deze eeuw (Durkheim 1957:226).

9. Het is dit zelfde mechanisme dat waarschijnlijk centraal staat bij het opmerkelijke gegeven dat participanten bij het zien van audiovisuele representaties van door hen verrichte activiteiten een soort herbeleving ondergaan van de gevoelens en identiteit die door hen werden ervaren tijdens het gebeuren zelf (Omori 1988:197). Dit kan een zeer goed klimaat scheppen voor gedetailleerde communicatie tussen onderzoeker en participanten over het gebeuren middels de audiovisuele registratie, en tevens een basis vormen voor spontane reacties van de participanten naar aanleiding van het weergegeven gebeuren.⁹

10. Feedbackonderzoek met audiovisuele registratiemiddelen kan gezien worden als een unieke methode voor een optimale waarneming en kennisverwerving door de onderzoeker van een zeer wezenlijk deel van het verschijnsel cultuur, namelijk de non-verbale communicatie en in ruimere zin het handelen. Dit omdat de informant in de eerste plaats wordt gestimuleerd door het multidimensionale beeld dat delen van zijn eigen non-verbale communicatiesysteem weergeeft en pas in de tweede plaats door de ééndimensionale taalkundige vraagstelling van de onderzoeker die beperkingen kent, doordat deze voortkomt uit een ander codesysteem met een andere voorstellingswereld.

Gegevens betreffende de totstandkoming van het onderzoek

Het onderzoek, dat tot hoofddoel had de film 'Tobelo Marriage' door terugvertoning aan de participanten door hen te laten controleren op vorm en inhoud, werd uitgevoerd van 1 tot 12 januari 1988 door Nijland en Drs. Frans Rijoly, die ook meegewerkt had aan de opnamen en een deel van de montage van de film (zie bijlage). Ankie Nijland-Bleeker observeerde tijdens de voorstellingen en verleende algehele assistentie. Bij de verwerking van de onderzoeksgegevens heeft Platenkamp verschillende malen ondersteuning verleend, niet alleen voor vertalingen uit het Tobelorees, maar ook bij de interpretatie van een aantal gegevens.

⁹ Zie voor gedachtengangen ten aanzien van het belang van het non-verbale versus het verbale in relatie met het denken en het handelen Nijland 1989:78; Gazzaniga 1985.

Het doel van de vertoningen van de film 'Tobelo Marriage' aan leden van het dorp waar de film was opgenomen, was:

1. te onderzoeken hoe het oordeel van de participanten luidde ten aanzien van de kwaliteit en de ordening van de film¹⁰ als representatie van het betreffende complex van gebeurtenissen en
2. te onderzoeken aan de hand van beeldmateriaal, als representatie van de stroom van rituele handelingen en situaties, welke van deze handelingen of situaties als de meest significante werden gezien.

Daarnaast waren er nog andere punten, die echter in dit kader van minder belang zijn. Er werd van uitgegaan dat de Tobelorezen geen moeite zouden hebben met het begrijpen van de film. Het kan voorkomen dat participanten van niet-westerse culturen de coderingen van westerse speel-films absoluut niet begrijpen. Hier ging het echter om een film die in een beschrijvende stijl een eigen cultuuraspect toonde. Foto's waren in het betreffende dorp goed bekend. Een aantal van de bewoners had ook de bioscoop in Tobelo-stad bezocht en video gezien bij een Chinese handelaar in een naburig dorp.

In de betreffende periode werden vier voorstellingen in het dorp gehouden. De eerste vond 's avonds plaats op het voetbalveld voor wie maar komen wou. Er waren omstreeks duizend toeschouwers, onder wie ook lieden uit andere dorpen. Het publiek zat en stond zowel voor als achter het scherm. De reacties van de kijkers waren zo overweldigend dat het niet mogelijk was het commentaar, dat in het Indonesisch bij de film werd ingesproken, verstaanbaar te maken. Hierdoor was het ook ondoenlijk verbale reacties goed te onderscheiden. Wel was het significant hoe enerzijds bepaalde mensen in activiteiten als dansen toegejuicht en bijgevallen werden met de typisch Tobelorese kreet van enthousiasme en anderzijds er bijvoorbeeld een doodse stilte heerste bij rituele toespraken van de voorganger tijdens de preek, van de vader van de bruid tijdens de onderhandelingen en bijvoorbeeld van de adatoudsten tijdens de goederenuitwisseling. De hierboven omschreven reacties maken duidelijk dat de film wel aansprak.

De drie andere, besloten voorstellingen waaruit meer gerichte informatie voortkwam, werden 's ochtends gehouden in de consistoriekamer van de kerk. Hiervoor werden steeds vier tot zes personen uitgenodigd. Op de avond of middag na de voorstelling kwam de betreffende groep weer tezamen en werd aan elk van hen in ronden nog een aantal vragen gesteld en werden twee fotoseries voorgelegd. Onder de genodigden waren de adatoudsten, de ouders van bruid en bruidegom en verdere leden van de

¹⁰ Hiermee krijgt de omschrijving 'geestelijk exhibitionisme' van Gerbrands een begrijpelijker achtergrond.

groep van de bruidgevers en de groep van de bruidnemers. Uiteraard werden ook de bruid en de bruidegom bij herhaling uitgenodigd, maar alleen de bruid verscheen en verliet de projectie alweer in het begin van de 'build up of prestations'. Hierop zal later worden teruggekomen.

In het kader van de laatste drie filmvoorstellingen werd het volgende aan de deelnemers gevraagd:

1. Direct een duidelijk teken te geven om de projectie te laten stoppen als zij vonden dat er een belangrijk onderdeel van de onderhandelingen, de voorbereidingen of de huwelijksceremonie zelf in de film bleek te ontbreken, of als zij fouten constateerden in de cinematografische representatie of het commentaar. Dit werd direct begrepen – het betrof tenslotte de officiële representatie op film van een aspect van hun cultuur – en werd samengevat onder het woord *koreksi*.
2. Verder werd gedurende de voorstelling door de onderzoeker een enkele maal op bepaalde plaatsen gestopt om een cinematografische benadering te vergelijken met een andere cinematografische benadering van hetzelfde of een soortgelijk gegeven. Dit om te weten te komen welke representatievorm men prefereerde.

Tijdens de bijeenkomsten die na de voorstellingen werden gehouden, zijn onder andere de volgende vragen gesteld:

3. Wat men het meest had gemist in de film en waarom;
4. Wat men op de tweede plaats had gemist in de film en waarom;
5. Welk gedeelte van de film het belangrijkste of mooiste werd gevonden en waarom;
6. Welk gedeelte van de film in de tweede plaats belangrijk of mooi werd gevonden en waarom?

Om nog op een andere wijze indicaties te krijgen over belangrijke momenten in het ritueel werden vervolgens twee fotoseries aangeboden. De eerste serie representeerde de filmsequentie betreffende de uitwisseling tijdens het huwelijksritueel, waarbij uit elke filmopname van één filmbeeldje een foto was gemaakt. De tweede serie foto's vertegenwoordigde op dezelfde manier de sequentie waarin de bruid van haar ouderlijk huis naar het huis van haar schoonouders wordt begeleid. De foto's waren zwart-wit in het formaat 10,5x14,8 cm. In de aangeboden series lagen de foto's in dezelfde volgorde als de filmopnamen. Bij het aanbieden van een serie werd het bovenstaande uitgelegd en werden de volgende vragen gesteld:

7. Wilt U uit deze serie foto's, de voor U belangrijkste of mooiste foto kiezen en daarbij vertellen waarom U deze de belangrijkste of de mooiste vindt;
8. Welke foto kiest U als tweede belangrijke of mooie en waarom?

Enkele reacties

Het geheel aan reacties dat bij het onderzoek naar voren kwam, kan als volgt worden uitgesplitst (Nijland 1989:154).

1. Ten aanzien van de representatie in beeld, geluid of commentaar: activiteiten die men miste in de film, activiteiten die op een foute wijze werden weergegeven of benoemd en goedgekeurde vormen van cinematografische weergave.
2. Ten aanzien van de activiteiten zelf: activiteiten die men in de film miste maar die ook niet waren uitgevoerd, activiteiten die wel in de film voorkwamen maar fout waren uitgevoerd.
3. Ten aanzien van het belang van activiteiten: die welke werden gekozen uit het naar voren gebrachte, dat wil zeggen de onderhandelingen, de voorbereidingen en het huwelijksritueel zelf en die welke werden gekozen via de keuze van foto's uit een serie die een bepaald onderdeel van het huwelijksritueel weergaf.

Om tegelijkertijd én een indruk te geven hoe het toeging bij dit onderzoek én wat nader in te gaan op één van de kernaspecten van de cultuur der Tobelo zal in dit artikel die informatie worden gepresenteerd die naar voren is gekomen in verband met het schild, symbool van de reputatie der voorouders.

Voor een goed begrip moet eerst het volgende naar voren worden gebracht (voor gedetailleerde informatie zie Platenkamp 1988). De Tobelo zijn georganiseerd in patrilineale verwantengroepen die kunnen worden gezien als Huizen (in de zin van het Huis van Plantagenet). De *gurumini*, de kracht en reputatie gekoppeld aan het beeld van de voorouders, is essentieel voor het Huis (Platenkamp 1988:14). Het wordt onder andere symbolisch uitgedrukt in het schild, en manifest gemaakt in de hantering ervan in de dans.

Elke patrilineage van een Huis wordt gezien als een 'stam', die tevens door haar vruchten, dat wil zeggen door haar dochters, elders nieuwe 'stammen' doet ontstaan. Daarbij is de vrouwgevende/levengevende lineage altijd superieur aan de lineage die door dat leven ontstaat. Huwelijken vormen tegelijkertijd allianties tussen Huizen. Een partner behoort uit een ander Huis te komen. Dit kan elk Huis zijn waar men geen verwantschap mee heeft binnen vijf opeenvolgende generaties. In beginsel zien de leden van Huizen die geen alliantie met elkaar hebben elkaar als vijanden. Dit komt omdat de reputatie van een Huis alleen vermeerderd kan worden door het direct of indirect (magisch) doden van mens en dier, welke in relatie staan met andere Huizen.

De eerste stap om tot huwelijksonderhandelingen te komen is dan ook een compensatie in geld die het Huis van de bruidnemers moet betalen aan

het Huis van de bruidegvers voor beledigingen en dergelijke die de reputatie van de laatste mogelijkerwijs schaadden. Genoemd bedrag wordt omschreven als 'dood geld'. Dit in tegenstelling tot 'levend geld' dat het Huis van de bruidnemers aan het Huis van de bruidegvers moet betalen tijdens de uitwisseling bij de eigenlijke huwelijksvoltrekking ter compensatie van het te verwachten resultaat van de vruchtbaarheid. Het is door het 'levende geld' dat het nakomelingschap inderdaad tot het Huis van de bruidnemers zal behoren. Direct in verband hiermee zal tijdens de betreffende uitwisseling door een vrouw van het Huis van de bruidnemers ook een schild, een zwaard en een speer, tezamen gebonden door een witte doek, worden aangeboden. Het is de compensatie voor 'datgene dat het leven bevat', in casu de bruid. Beide giften zijn mede een sanctie. Zou de bruid bijvoorbeeld overspel plegen dan zou het 'levende geld' in relatie met het aantal betrokken kinderen in veelvoud moeten worden terugbetaald door de bruidegvers aan de bruidnemers. Zou dit niet naar genoegen gebeuren dan zou de bundel 'wapens', ofwel de kracht van de voorouders van de bruidnemers actief worden en de schuldigen straffen (Platenkamp 1988:207, zie ook 1990).

Tijdens de uitwisseling, het belangrijkste onderdeel van het huwelijksritueel, zullen op hun beurt door de bruidegvers specifieke aantallen vlechtwerk moeten worden geleverd die in de juiste verhouding staan met de hoeveelheid 'levend geld'. Het gaat hierbij om aantallen slaapmatten, sagozeven, wannen, vuurwaaiers, vuurtangetjes en bezems. Tevens zullen tijdens het huwelijk de bruidegvers rijst, zowel in rauwe als in verschillende voorbereide vormen en groente inbrengen, welke worden uitgewisseld tegen sago, vis en palmwijn die door de bruidnemers worden geleverd.

De gekozen muziek bij de titel is onmogelijk

De hoofdtitel van de film, met andere gegevens en kaarten, komt negen minuten nadat de film begonnen is naar voren. Men ziet eerst de ouders van de bruidegom aan het werk in een van hun tuinen, waarna ze op bezoek gaan bij familie die elders in de tuinen verblijft. Vervolgens is er een introducerend gedeelte over het dorp en wordt een indruk gegeven van de Protestantse kerkdienst met de preek en daarna de gezangen. Hierop volgen direct de titels, geaccentueerd door een plotselinge overgang van de kerkgezangen naar de muziek waarop de *hol*a* (Tob.)¹¹ of *cakalele* (Indon.) of 'krijgsdansen' wordt gedanst.

Twintig seconden nadat de titels met de muziek van de krijgsdansen zijn begonnen, komt de eerste reactie van de adatoudste Tonoro, toentertijd

¹¹ De uitspraak van het Tobelorese woord *hol*a* benadert men indien men de *l** uitspreekt als de engelse 'th'.

voorspreker van de bruidegvers en tien seconden later wordt het teken gegeven om te stoppen. Achtereenvolgens stellen Tonoro en Rope, de vader van de bruid, dan het volgende:

Tonoro: 'Er is nog niet onderhandeld over het huwelijk, en toch wordt de [muziek van de] krijgsdans al naar voren gebracht.'

Rope: 'Voordat de bruidnemers over het huwelijk komen onderhandelen met de bruidegvers bij hun huis, kan de krijgsdans er niet zijn. Er is nog geen beslissing... [bijval van anderen]...En nadat er een besluit is, nadat de onderhandelingen tussen de twee partijen hebben plaats gevonden ...ha... dan vinden de dansen plaats, toch?'

Het is duidelijk dat de Westerse, abstraherende idee om bij de titel via muziek vooruit te lopen op datgene wat nog moet komen, gezien vanuit de Tobelorese ideeënwereld absoluut niet mogelijk is. Een ideeënwereld die overigens voor de Tobelo in direct en dwingend verband staat met de voorouders.

De betreffende muziek is verbonden met het dansen van de krijgsdans en heeft in de context van de huwelijksvoltrekking zijn vaste plaats in de rangorde van rituele activiteiten. Daarbij wordt in de *hol*a* ook het schild gehanteerd dat ten nauwste is gerelateerd aan de representatie van de voorouders. Deze dans in zijn totaliteit, dus ook de muziek, blijkt ten enen male niet zomaar uit de context te kunnen worden losgemaakt. Gezien vanuit de denkwereld van de Tobelo, vanuit de mentale voorstellingen betreffende complexen van non-verbale betekenisdragers – visueel, auditief maar ook 'gevoeld' met interne, op motoriek ingestelde zintuigen – heeft het zijn vastomschreven plaats in de betreffende, veel grotere configuratieve mentale sjablones die alle mentale sjablones van de gehele huwelijks-ceremonie omvat.

Als wordt gevraagd of dan misschien de muziek van de *tide*-dans bij de titel zou kunnen worden gebruikt, antwoordt de adatoudste Hobihi, toentertijd voorspreker voor de bruidnemers:

'Aansluitend op de godsdienstoefening, daar de *tide* tot de adat behoort...' 'Dat kan niet!' Het laatste wordt door iemand anders gezegd. Hobihi vervolgt, vrij vertaald: 'Tijdens deze titels moet in aansluiting op de kerkdienst die kerkelijke muziek [de gezangen] worden gegeven.'

Bij nog verdere discussie blijkt, op voorstel van Ano, vader van de bruidegom, dat ook *musik bambu* ofwel muziek van het orkest met bamboe blaasinstrumenten dat bij profane feesten speelt, bij de titels zou kunnen worden gebruikt. Hoe dan ook, men zal het op prijs stellen als deze fout, die spot met rituele uitingen en hun volgorde, wordt verbeterd. Een en ander zal er veel mooier door worden, zo stelt men.

Het is overigens zeer opvallend hoe men duidelijk zaken uit de wereld

van de adat en uit de wereld van de kerk van elkaar scheidt. Daarbij lijken zaken die de adat betreffen veel belangrijker.

De hierboven omschreven westerse cinematografische interpretatie was geenszins bedoeld om de Tobelo te provoceren. Het kan echter als voorbeeld gezien worden hoe men beeld en geluid, net als in de provocerende vraagstelling, zo zou kunnen gebruiken.

Wapens zijn soms helemaal geen wapens

Dat wapens soms helemaal geen wapens zijn, of althans op een bepaald moment absoluut niet zo dienen te worden benoemd, blijkt tijdens de besloten projectie met Tonoro, Hobihi, Ano en Rope. Het is zeer waarschijnlijk dat dit punt alleen naar voren kon komen door de *feedback*-techniek met film. Men kan namelijk rustig kijken en luisteren naar wat er gebeurt en wat er wordt gezegd. Als het niet bevalt kan men de zaak laten stoppen en rustig reageren. Een toch iets andere omstandigheid dan wanneer men werkelijk participeert in een dergelijke ceremonie.

De reactie komt naar voren tijdens de cinematografische weergave van de uitwisseling op de tweede dag van de huwelijksceremonie, als een oudere mannelijke verwant van Rope de door de bruidnemers aangeboden wapens, namelijk een speer, een zwaard en een schild, van de tafel haalt. Het verklarend commentaar luidt:

'Vrouwelijke verwanten van Rope halen dan de vis, de sago en andere, door Ano's verwanten aangeboden zaken [giften] weg, terwijl een oudere, aan Rope verwante man de wapens in ontvangst neemt.'

In het Indonesisch luidde dit commentaar:

'Kerabat wanita dari Rope lalu membawa pergi ikan, sago dan barang-barang lainnya yang diserahkan oleh kerabat Ano, sedangkan orang tua yang bersaudara dengan Rope menerima senjata-senjata.'

Even nadat de laatste woorden van dit commentaar waren uitgesproken – dat wil zeggen de woorden: *senjata-senjata* – begonnen de kijkende heren opmerkingen te maken, hetgeen zich ontwikkelde in een drukke discussie toen de betreffende oudere verwant van Rope in de film de 'wapens' van tafel haalde. 35 seconden nadat het woord *senjata-senjata* als laatste woord van het commentaar gevallen is, wordt het teken gegeven om de projectie te stoppen. De reacties waren de volgende:

Rope: 'Aldus...in de film...is [het woord] 'wapens' echt niet van toepassing, mijnheer...want dit zijn geen wapens, wat men daar ziet ...eh...is een speer, een schild, een zwaard.'

Hobihi: 'Dus ongeveer zo...als het geld is, is het 45.000 Roepiah...maar als het voorwerpen zijn zoals hier, dan is het één schild, één speer en één zwaard. Dit...dit

noemt men de "verwisseling van plaats". Dus wat betreft, "wapens", dat heeft een andere betekenis...met wapens. De "verwisseling van plaats" drukt zich op twee manieren uit: voorwerpen of geld. Dus als het voorwerpen zijn: één schild, één speer en één zwaard'.

Rope: 'Deze wapens zijn in feite het zwaard en de speer, dat zijn wapens, maar het schild is alleen bescherming, het schild.'

Na verdere verklaring zegt Hobihi nog:

'Als vervolgens de bruid overspel pleegt, wij van de kant van de bruidnemers...eh...men moet niet spotten met deze voorwerpen. Dat wil zeggen dat wij [haar] zullen doden...[...]...dit is in overeenstemming met de echte Tobelorese adat ...[...]... zo is de inhoud van de *o ngi ma dagali*' [voorwerpen die iets anders dat leven bevat vervangen]. (Platenkamp 1988:198.)

De eigenlijke voltrekking van het huwelijk en dus de uiteindelijke alliantie tussen de twee verwantengroepen, vindt plaats tijdens de uitwisseling op de tweede dag van de huwelijksceremonie. Centraal staan hierbij het schild, met daarnaast de speer en het zwaard, alle drie afkomstig van de bruidnemers. De connotatie van agressie aan deze voorwerpen wordt zoveel mogelijk geneutraliseerd doordat ze niet door een man maar door een vrouw van de bruidnemers worden aangeboden aan de bruideggers. Het geeft eigenlijk al duidelijk aan dat men deze voorwerpen op dat moment geen wapens wil laten zijn. Het blijkt ook uit de witte doek die de wapens op dat moment bij elkaar houdt.¹² De agressiviteit, noodzakelijk voor de opbouw van de reputatie van het Huis, met name de vervaarlijke macht van de voorouders gesymboliseerd in het schild, levert men geneutraliseerd in aan het andere Huis, met het doel een alliantie te sluiten en in ruil een vrouw te krijgen. Een vrouw die het leven kan geven, waardoor het Huis van de bruidnemers kan voortbestaan.

Mede gezien de uitspraken van Rope en Hobihi zou men kunnen stellen dat tijdens de uitwisseling de speer en het zwaard een totaal andere functie hebben dan het schild. Het schild is alsnog belangrijk als representatie van het Huis van de bruidnemers, maar de agressiviteit is er aan ontnomen. Daarentegen zijn speer en zwaard alleen nog maar een teken voor een zware sanctie op een eventuele overtreding in de toekomst. Namelijk als de bruid overspel zou plegen. Dan pas zouden deze voorwerpen weer wapens worden en actief worden gebruikt.

Dat het schild op dit moment inderdaad het enig belangrijke, actieve voorwerp van de drie is, blijkt ook uit de, in het begin van dit artikel naar voren gebrachte motivering die werd gegeven bij de selectie van een belangrijk geachte foto uit een serie van foto's die elk een filmopname uit de sequentie van de uitwisseling representeren. De opname is gemaakt van

¹² De kleur wit is geassocieerd met vrouwelijk en koel, in tegenstelling met rood dat geassocieerd is aan mannelijk, heet en agressie.

de zijde van de bruidegvers en toont een deel van de ceremoniële kanovormige tafel¹³ waaraan de uitwisseling plaatsvindt, met aan de andere kant van de tafel de bruidnemers. Op de voorgrond ziet men op de tafel onder andere een deel van één der torenvormige rijstmanden, de *persoso higi*, staan en verder een paar schalen met rijstekoecken, een deel van de speer en een klein deel van het schild. Voor de goede orde nogmaals de motivering:

'Ah, dit....volgens mijn ervaring, gezien met eigen ogen...dit is interessant voor mij, want op dit moment hebben de bruidnemers al een beslissing [in de zin van een overeenkomst] samen met de ... met de bruidegvers genomen...Dat blijkt uit datgene dat op de tafel staat en de tegenprestatie staat er tussen in. Want dit is het schild en in het midden staat een *persoso higi*.'

Het is ook niet voor niets dat hier als tegenhanger van het schild de *persoso higi* wordt genoemd. Deze torenvormige manden, ingebracht door bruidegvers, zijn gevuld met ongekookte rijst en bevatten dus evenals de bruid in potentie het leven, of de vruchtbaarheid. Klaarblijkelijk gaat het hier om een uiterst significante rangschikking van twee symbolisch geladen artefacten die elk één der participerende partijen representeren, welke echter cinematografisch slecht is weergegeven. Ook in de andere opnamen kwam geen goede cadrering van deze uiterst belangrijke opstelling voor. De cameraman had er duidelijk geen 'oog' voor gehad of, anders gezegd, geen mentale sjablone gehad van dit significante complex van non-verbale betekenisdragers. De informant duidelijk wel waardoor hij, ondanks de gebrekkige encadrering van de opname, toch direct tot zijn keus kwam.

*Het dansen van de hol*a door bruidegvers en bruidnemers is op bepaalde momenten door een westerse 'optiek' verfilmd*

Het gaat hier om een sequentie die een beeld geeft van de *hol*a*, de krijgsdansen zoals die in solo alternerend wordt uitgevoerd door mannelijke leden van de bruidegvers en bruidnemers op de avond van de dag dat de uitwisseling het huwelijk heeft bekrachtigd. Over de verfilming hiervan is men niet tevreden. Met name niet over het doorgeven van de attributen waarmee men danst. Deze bestaan uit een schild en verder naar keuze een zwaard, een speer of, als substituut voor deze wapens, een tak.¹⁴ De attributen worden na het einde van de dans en na respectbetoon aan de Heer

¹³ Voor het begin van de twintigste eeuw, toen onder Nederlands bestuur en Protestantse zending de dorpen langs de kust werden gesticht, woonden de verwantengroepen elk op hun eigen territorium dat van andere territoria afgescheiden werd door een beek of een rivier. Aan de ceremoniële kanovormige tafel gezeten, kunnen de twee verwantengroepen over het water – dat hen nog steeds symbolisch scheidt – bij elkaar komen.

¹⁴ Meestal wordt steeds hetzelfde schild gebruikt. Onder bepaalde omstandigheden die de onderzoeker nog niet geheel duidelijk zijn, wordt ook wel van schild gewisseld.

van het Huis, meegenomen van de dansplaats en onder respectbetoon aangeboden aan de volgende danser die van de andere partij is. Het is dit laatste, de continuïteit van dans naar dans, dat men in de film mist.

Het is duidelijk dat dit niet met de juiste kennis van zaken is opgenomen. Westerse standaarden met individualiserende normen prevaleerden hier. De solodans werd gezien als een op zich zelf staande gebeurtenis en overeenkomstig beëindigd in de opname als de dans ook was beëindigd. Gezien echter vanuit de Tobelorese opvattingen had de camera na het einde van een dans moeten blijven doordraaien, de danser moeten volgen die de dansplaats verliet en onder nieuw respectbetoon de wapens aanbood aan de volgende danser, die op zijn beurt weer de dansplaats betrad, respect betoonde aan de Heer van het Huis en vervolgens zijn dans ging uitvoeren met hetgeen daarop volgde. Door een dergelijke, doorlopende opname was de opeenvolging van de dansen die het ineengrijpen van de twee verwantengroepen onderstreept, duidelijk gemaakt.

Door de daadwerkelijk gehanteerde opnametechniek viel vooral het respectbetoon aan de nieuwe danser weg, waardoor het leek of dit helemaal niet was betoond. Dit nu bleek een ernstige zaak, want als dit in werkelijkheid gebeurde, zou de overtreder kunnen worden beboet.

Enkele markante opmerkingen in verband met een opname van de ontvangst van de bruidsstoet met de krijgsdans

Op de derde dag van het huwelijksritueel komen vrouwelijke verwanten van de bruidnemers naar het ouderlijk huis van de bruid en kleden haar in door hen meegebrachte kleding. Over de borst krijgt zij kruiselings twee sjerpen van *kain mandar*, paarskleurige doeken met een lichte ruit. Deze textielsoort is mannelijk gecodeerd¹⁵ en duidt er op dat zij reeds lid is van de bruidnemers. Tevens krijgt zij sieraden aan die ook van de bruidnemers afkomstig zijn: een halsketting met munten, oorhangers, een hoofdtooi en een zilveren of verzilverde ceintuur. Uit de serie foto's die de filmopnamen betreffende het kleden en overbrengen van de bruid van haar ouderlijk huis naar het huis van haar schoonouders weergeven, zijn het vooral de dames die foto's in verband met het kleden kiezen (Nijland 1989:203, 286).

In het kader van dit artikel is de keuze van de laatste foto van deze serie interessant. Deze cadrering is genomen ter hoogte van het huis van de ouders van de bruidegom. In de verte ziet men de bruidsstoet naderen. Op de voorgrond ziet men twee mannen, met het gezicht naar de bruidstoet, de krijgsdans uitvoeren met schild en speer. Deze foto wordt driemaal gekozen. Tweemaal als eerste, terwijl de heer Rope deze foto als tweede

¹⁵ In tegenstelling tot batik met bloemmotieven die met het vrouwelijke is geassocieerd.

kiest. Voor Rope is deze foto van belang omdat het de ontvangst van zijn dochter weergeeft. Het laat zien, zo zegt hij, dat zijn dochter wordt opgenomen in de verwantengroep van de bruidnemers. En dat is heel goed. Tjeleni, de voormalige voorganger van het dorp verduidelijkt dit als het ware (hij was niet aanwezig bij de zitting met Rope) in de motivering van zijn eerste keuze van deze foto:

'Dit maakt indruk, omdat dit een teken is van duidelijk eerbewijs. Omdat men in de *cakalele*-dans binnen de Tobelorese adat twee onderscheidingen kent. Eén variant kenmerkt zich door de oorlog, een andere variant voltrekt zich binnen de adat. En deze adat...deze adat wordt ook weer in tweeën verdeeld: het verwelkomen van de bruid en het verwelkomen van de vorsten. Dat is de adat van de Tobelo....Eén voor de oorlog....Dus als het volgens deze manier gaat, dat is adat...op deze manier is het het verwelkomen van de bruid of ook het verwelkomen van de vorst. Als het oorlog betreft, is het anders.'

Als derde kiest uiteindelijk ook Henny, de bruid, deze foto. Maar dit gebeurt niet zonder meer. Eerder al werd naar voren gebracht dat Henny slechts een gedeelte van de film had bekeken. Toen in de film de voorbereidingen voor de wederzijdse bijdragen begonnen ('build up of prestations'), ging zij weg. Gemeend werd dat de zorg voor de kinderen – het paar had inmiddels twee kinderen – of het koken van het eten de reden was voor haar vertrek. Tijdens het gesprek met de vrouwen over de film, 's avonds ten huize van Ano, was zij wel aanwezig, maar zat wat op de achtergrond en zei niet veel. Toen de foto's op tafel kwamen en verzocht werd de meest aansprekende foto aan te wijzen, keek Henny van een afstand zo nu en dan wel mee maar bleef verder afzijdig en kwam zeker niet naderbij om de foto's beter te kunnen bekijken. Op de vraag aan haar een foto te kiezen uit de serie die het aankleden en overbrengen van haar, van haar ouderlijk huis naar het ouderlijk huis van haar schoonouders weergeeft, stond zij op en pakte direct deze foto. Haar motivering hierbij was dat zij blij was met deze dans, omdat haar 'schoonvaders', zo zou men kunnen zeggen, door zo te dansen haar zo goed ontvingen. Zij voelde zich hierdoor geheel geaccepteerd in het Huis van Ano.

De afstandelijke houding van Henny ten opzichte van het fotomateriaal en de film wordt kort daarop op verrassende wijze toegelicht. Als de foto's door een ieder zijn geselecteerd en de keuzes zijn gemotiveerd, wordt er nog thee gedronken. Tijdens deze afsluiting wordt nog eens gevraagd of Henny niet de volgende dag naar de voorstelling voor de derde groep kan komen. Dit aangezien de onderzoekers toch wel geïnteresseerd zijn in haar mening over de film. Henny zelf lacht op deze vraag wat verlegen en ontwijkend en laat het daarbij. Een oudere vrouw zegt dan echter:

'De adat van de Tobelo maakt dat zij zich beschaamd voelen, een beschaamd gevoel om te kijken, vanuit de persoonlijke aard. Zo is de Tobelorese adat, mijnheer. Wat de vrouw aangaat.'

Op de vraag of het nu de adat betrof of het persoonlijk gevoel, was het antwoord: 'Het persoonlijk gevoel van ons Tobelo betreffende de adat'.

Afgezien van het feit dat deze laatste uitspraak prachtig is, gezien vanuit beschouwingen over cultuur en persoonlijkheid, begon met deze uitspraak een belangrijk gegeven over de non-verbale betekenisdragers in kwestie naar voren te komen.

Wat eigenlijk werd betoogd, was dat de bruid haar eigen beeld in adatkleding niet mag zien en dat zij dit weet. Bij verdere verklaring van dit punt bleek dan ook dat, als de bruid in de adatkleding wordt gekleed in een slaapkamer van haar ouderlijk huis, maatregelen worden genomen om te voorkomen dat zij zichzelf ziet. Als er in die kamer een kast met spiegel staat, dan zal die tijdelijk worden afgedekt en tevens zal de bruid met de rug naar die kast worden gekleed. In dezelfde zin, zo werd verder verteld, zal de bruid ook jaren later nog in de grootste verlegenheid geraken als zij een beeld van zichzelf in de betreffende adatkleding zou zien door middel van foto's of film.

Deze explicatie werd, achteraf gezien, op een gegeven moment kennelijk naar voren gebracht, omdat men begon te begrijpen dat de onderzoekers totaal onbekend waren met dit gegeven. Dit gezien hun volhardend blijven vragen of de bruid nu de film toch niet eens in z'n totaliteit zou willen bekijken.

Op verdere vragen blijkt dat iedereen op dat moment rustig naar de foto's of de film kan kijken, maar dat met name het bruidspaar, dus ook de echtgenoot, moeite zouden hebben met het kijken naar de film. Zeker met het gedeelte waar de bruid in adatkleding 'de rivier doorwaadt naar de andere zijde'.¹⁶ Daar zouden zij zeker nooit naar willen kijken, zo zei men ons.

De eigenlijke reden voor de grote verlegenheid waarin de bruid zou komen als zij haar eigen beeld zou zien, werd verder helaas niet nader omschreven. Toen deze gegevens werden voorgelegd aan Platenkamp was deze verrast in die zin dat hij niet op de hoogte was van dit gegeven, maar het aan de andere kant wel direct zag samenvallen met andere gegevens hem bekend. Het gaat hierbij met name om het begrip *gurumini*, de relatie tussen geld en voorouders, en om de adatkleding van de bruid, die in hoge mate het Huis van de bruidnemers representeren, waarbij vooral de

¹⁶ Voor het begin van de twintigste eeuw, toen onder Nederlands bestuur en Protestantse zending de dorpen langs de kust werden gesticht, woonden de verwantengroepen elk op hun eigen territorium dat van andere territoria afgescheiden werd door een beek of een rivier. Aan de ceremoniële kanovormige tafel gezeten, kunnen de twee verwantengroepen over het water – dat hen nog steeds symbolisch scheidt – bij elkaar komen.

muntenketting de kracht en het beeld van de voorouders van dat Huis zeer sterk naar voren brengen (Platenkamp 1988:24, 28, 138, 172, 185, 234). Daarnaast zijn bijvoorbeeld ook de wit-geschminkte stippen boven de wenkbrauwen niet zomaar een versiering. Volgens de literatuur vond men de sieraden en de stippen, maar nu rood, vroeger terug in het tweede dodenritueel, waarbij een vrouw, zo opgemaakt, op dat moment haar overleden broer of vader representeert. De sieraden zijn dan ook mannelijk. De rode stippen zouden staan voor het, door de overledene vergoten bloed hetgeen direct in relatie staat met de verworven reputatie. Aan de andere kant is de vrouw zelf in het algemeen direct verbonden met de waarde van de vruchtbaarheid. In het tweede dodenritueel is dan ook sprake van inversies waarvan de bovenomschreven vrouw die haar overleden vader of broer representeert er één van is (Platenkamp 1988:170).

In de omschreven situatie uit het tweede dodenritueel, maar ook in de situatie van de bruid in adatkleding, met vooral de muntenketting die in grote mate het beeld en de kracht van de voorouders van het Huis van de bruidnemers representeert, krijgt de vrouw met haar vruchtbaarheid wel zeer direct te maken met de reputatie, met de vervaarlijke kracht van de voorouders. Een kracht die tijdens de zwangerschap catastrofale gevolgen kan hebben, ook via de echtgenoot (Platenkamp 1988:103). De twee belangrijkste waarden van de Tobelo komen tijdens 'het doorwaden van de rivier naar de andere zijde' door de bruid in haar adatkleding uiterst dicht bij elkaar en worden tegelijkertijd gerepresenteerd door één persoon.

Dit blijkt nu te kunnen, zo zou men zeggen, mits die persoon, in dit geval de bruid, haar eigen uiterlijk, namelijk dat van een introuwende vrouw met tegelijkertijd de specifieke aankleding die het Huis van de bruidnemers representeert, niet ziet. Zodoende kan de representatie van de voorouder ongestraft door haar worden gedragen en kan het ook geen kwaad doen aan de vrucht die eventueel reeds door haar wordt gedragen. Dit laatste is waarschijnlijk ook de reden dat zij zichzelf in die representatie ook later niet wil zien. Het is te gevaarlijk voor haar als bron van vruchtbaarheid, en zo van leven, van dat Huis.

Een opmerkelijke bijkomstigheid is daarbij dat het gesprek over dit onderwerp onverwachts komt op de twee secondanten van de bruid. Dit zijn twee getrouwde vrouwen, dicht verwant aan de bruidegom. Zij hebben voor de bruid te zorgen en haar te begeleiden. Dit maakt het mogelijk dat zij met genegen hoofd en neergeslagen ogen kan voortschrijden. Ofwel, zij kijkt niet rechtuit naar voren, maar op de grond. Dit wordt bevestigd door instructies die tijdens een vorm van participerend observeren naar voren kwamen. Enkele dagen voor het vertrek van de onderzoekers werd als teken van vriendschap Nijland-Bleeker ceremonieel ingehuwd. Voor het 'doorwaden van de rivier naar de andere zijde' werd haar onder andere

geboden dat zij met neergeslagen ogen naar de grond moest kijken en onder geen beding recht voor zich uit mocht zien. Hieruit volgt dat de bruid naar alle waarschijnlijkheid ook de twee *cakalele*-dansers niet mag zien die haar verwelkomen. Want ook deze brengen met schild en speer de reputatie en de kracht van de voorouders van hun Huis immers naar voren.¹⁷

Conclusie

In dit artikel wordt enerzijds een overzicht gegeven van toepassingen van audiovisuele middelen in cultureel-antropologisch onderzoek. Hieraan wordt theoretische achtergrond gegeven door een visie op cultureel bepaalde realiteit met een nadruk op het veronderstelde grote belang van het non-verbale. Anderzijds werd verslag gedaan van enige reacties van participanten op de filmische representatie van een huwelijksceremonie. Deze reacties zijn gekozen in verband met het schild, symbool van de kracht en reputatie van voorouders en daarmee van het aan die voorouders gerelateerde Huis.

Uit de reacties op de buiten zijn culturele context bij de titel van de film gebruikte muziek van de oorlogsdans werd zeer duidelijk dat componenten van dit ritueel een strikt omschreven plaats kunnen hebben in de openvolging van het grotere complex. De werking van scherp omliggende patronen in de geest van de participanten voor produktie en herkenning van onder andere verbale en non-verbale betekenisdragers, in dit artikel aangeduid als mentale sjablones, kwam bijvoorbeeld ook naar voren doordat het alternerend doorgeven van het schild tussen solodansers van bruidnemers en van bruidgevers als symbool van de alliantie in de film totaal niet werd weergegeven. Gezien in de relatie persoonlijkheid en cultuur kan worden gesteld dat de mentale sjablones hier in een directe relatie staan met het ideaal-typische. Niet het ontbreken van de juiste non-verbale mentale sjablonen bij de filmmaker/onderzoeker, maar het gebruik door hem van een foutieve verbale betekenisdrager, namelijk het woord 'wapens', maakt duidelijk dat enerzijds schild en anderzijds speer en zwaard, hoewel tezamen gebundeld en verbaal aangeduid als *o ngi ma dagali*, apart moeten worden 'gezien' en zo elk een specifieke betekenis in verschillende intensiteit naar voren brengen. Het schild in die situatie en de *peroso higi*, tijdens de uitwisseling naast elkaar als belangrijke symbolen

¹⁷ De door de bruid gekozen foto laat de dansers van achteren zien. Waar de, bij de titel van de film gevoegde muziek onlosmakelijk verbonden bleek aan de, tijdens de huwelijksvoltrekking op een bepaald moment uit te voeren krijgdsans, zo zou hier blijken dat het configuratieve karakter van de muziek met de krijgdsans – en met name met de manifestatie van het schild – niet zo groot is dat het gevaarlijk zou kunnen zijn voor de bruid, die de muziek wel hoort.

voor respectievelijk de bruidnemers en de bruidgevers, blijken de daadwerkelijke voltrekking aan te geven van de alliantie tussen deze twee verwantengroepen. Als laatste kwam naar voren dat de krijgsdans met schild en speer, die wordt uitgevoerd door bruidnemers bij aankomst van de stoet met de bruid als belangrijk wordt gezien. Dit door het betoonde eerbewijs en respect aan de bruid. Frappant echter is de zeer terughoudende reactie van de bruid, vooral op beelden die haar in ceremoniële kleding weergeven.

Samenvattend kan ten aanzien van het complex van het schild worden gesteld dat door participanten via film te confronteren met een representatie van hun eigen non-verbale uitingen – die door Platenkamp al beschreven zijn – deze op een eigen wijze ondersteund en gedetailleerd worden. Het complex van het schild speelt een belangrijke en in context zeer bepaalde rol bij het huwelijksritueel. Het vervaarlijke van de kracht en reputatie van voorouders blijkt geminimaliseerd en tevens positief gepolariseerd te worden ten aanzien van de betreffende groep buitenstaanders waarmee men een alliantie sluit. De frappante reactie van de bruid wijst er echter tegelijkertijd op dat het zeer wel zou kunnen zijn dat het schild, maar zeker ook de halsketting met munten gedragen door de bruid, in deze rituele situatie alsnog de kracht van de voorouders vertegenwoordigen met een dusdanige daadwerkelijke uitstraling dat het een gevaar vormt voor de bruid als bron van leven. Hiermee zou blijken dat aspecten van het begrip *gurimini* voor de Tobelo daadwerkelijk nog zeer realistisch leven.

Duidelijk werd in dit onderzoek dat ook bij de Tobelo de koppeling met en het tot uitdrukking brengen van centrale ideeën en waarden door bepaalde voorwerpen een belangrijke rol speelt. Maar daarbij geldt – in analogie met de Tobelorese visie dat de kracht en de reputatie van de voorouder tot leven komt als er met het representerende schild wordt gedanst – dat het vervliedende handelen rondom de objectivering ('objectifying') niet alleen zeer veel bijdraagt tot die objectivering, maar ook op zich als drager van betekenis belangrijk is (Nijland 1989:188 voor hier niet gepresenteerde gegevens). Dit onderzoek toont opnieuw aan dat terugvertoning van audiovisuele registraties van handelen op een specifieke wijze kan bijdragen tot kennisverwerving. De visie op de bij de participanten levende cultureel bepaalde realiteit, waarbij het non-verbale handelen een grote rol speelt, behoeft verder multidisciplinair onderzoek.

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BIJLAGE

Korte inhoud van de film

DEEL I	Minuten/seconden
A. <i>Introductie</i>	00.00-09.33
Introductie op de omgeving en de samenleving van het dorp.	
B. <i>Problemen in verband met de huwelijksvoltrekking tussen Wempi en Henny</i>	09.33-11.49
Introductie van het meisje Henny Rope en de jongen Wempi Ano die willen trouwen. De vader van Henny ziet Wempi echter niet als de juiste partner. Daarbij zijn de kinderen verwant.	
C. <i>Onderhandelingen voor het huwelijk, etc.</i>	11.49-26.25
De verwantengroep van Ano wordt, na twee maal eerder tevergeefs te zijn gekomen, ontvangen door Rope en de zijnen. Eerst vinden onderhandelingen plaats onder welke voorwaarden over het eigenlijke huwelijk kan worden onderhandeld. Dan volgen de uiteindelijke eisen van Rope en de zijnen, en de reactie van Ano daarop. Rope en de zijnen bespreken vervolgens de noodzakelijke, door hen te leveren, tegengiften.	
D. <i>Voorbereidingen: het gereedmaken van de wederzijdse bijdragen</i>	26.25-58.07
De accumulatie van geld, sago, vis en palmwijn door de bruidnemers, en vlechtwerk, rijst en groenten door de bruidegvers.	
DEEL II	
DE HUWELIJKSCEREMONIE	
E. <i>27 september 1982</i>	58.07-62.40
Avond: Het voorstellen van Wempi Ano aan zijn aanverwanten.	
F. <i>28 september 1982</i>	62.40-82.39
Ochtend: De uitwisselingen. Rond de middag: Scheidingsritueel. Avond: Gemeenschappelijk maal en mannelijke solodansen bij Rope.	
G. <i>29 september 1982</i>	82.39-108.08
Ochtend: Voorbereidingen bij Rope en Ano voor de overdracht van de bruid. Middag: De bruid gaat onder begeleiding van Rope naar Ano. Avond: Gemeenschappelijk maal en dansen bij Ano.	

Voor meer gedetailleerde inhoudsomschrijving, zie Nijland 1989:252; voor benadering van opnamen en montage in relatie met handelingen, zie Nijland 1989:133.



DIRK TELJEUR

Life-cycle rituals among the Gimán of South Halmahera

The Gimán (*Orang Gane* in Indonesian) are a small Muslim society of approximately 1400 people who live primarily in the two villages of Puliló and Pulikin, in the southernmost part of the southern arm of the island of Halmahera, located in the North Moluccas in northeastern Indonesia. They speak a separate language belonging to the eastern subgroup of Austronesian languages. Their livelihood is shifting cultivation, sago, fishing and deer-hunting. Islam is firmly established among them which shows itself clearly in the life-cycle rituals. These rituals will be discussed presently.¹

The fortieth day after birth

The event of birth is celebrated only after forty days. When a baby has survived this critical period the Gimán consider it to have a fair chance of living. That is why the ritual is called 'the day it has attained to' (*hawé nomu*). According to Muslim law the fortieth day after birth terminates the period during which a mother of a newly-born child is ritually unclean (Juynboll 1925:159; Snouck Hurgronje 1893-94, I:427 note).

When a woman is about to deliver her baby, she is seated on a bed in the couple's bedroom, leaning with her back against pillows and facing the sea. One expression for giving birth is 'to bear seaward' (*hasusu klau*). If the baby does not come soon enough, the woman is turned around to face landward, which is believed to hasten childbirth.

The husband is usually absent, though it is not taboo for him to be present. Children attend more often. The midwife (*biang*) is the husband's *mamu mya*. The term means 'little mother' and refers to his mother's younger sister or father's younger brother's wife (or classificatory equivalents). After delivery she washes the baby. Mother and child then move to a clean bed.

Three days after delivery the midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a

¹ The article is a revised version of Chapter 6 of my Ph.D. thesis (Teljeur 1985), translated into English.

bamboo knife. She then washes the baby, and the mother and child are again moved to a clean bed. Next, the placenta is washed and buried. The burial of the placenta, immediately after birth, is described later, in the section on the funeral, to which it bears a clear resemblance. The umbilical cord remains attached to the baby. Medicine is applied to it and it is warmed near to the fire till it has dried and falls off by itself. It is kept in a coconut-shell bowl as a curative medicine for the child in case it becomes ill. If this happens the umbilical cord is placed in a bowl of water which the child is made to drink.

Some people lay the newborn baby on a *loku-loku*, a leaf sheath of the *plaki* tree, a kind of sago palm, used as a dustpan to scoop up dirt from the house to throw it onto the beach. It is an attempt to deceive spirits (*iblis*) who are out to destroy the baby's health – they will not notice that a child has been born and think it is only dirt.

Except for going outside to relieve herself and the daily bath in the sea early in the morning the mother will not leave the bed for forty days. Her husband brings wood for the fire burning and smouldering beside the bed.

The ritual of the fortieth day is observed indoors. About eight male guests face each other at an oblong 'feast table' (only married men are allowed to sit at this table). At the far end the father is seated with the baby in his lap.

Two plates with rounded heaps of rice are put behind each other on the table. The first one is made of yellow rice with a boiled egg on top, the second one of white rice only. Though these two are sufficient for the ritual, sometimes two of each colour are set on the table, again starting with a yellow rice mountain at the head, then a white one, then a yellow one and so on. There is an empty plate for each guest, put upside down as usual, with a saucer of fish, a bowl of fish-soup and a glass of tea.

Incense is put upon the glowing coals in a can by the prayer leader, the customary sign that prayer is about to begin. A Koran recitation then follows, after which the men start eating. But not the father; he walks with the baby to the kitchen where the mother will take it over and carry it outside for the first time. A firstborn child will then be made to touch the earth with his feet. For later children this is unnecessary.

I once observed this first touching of the earth to happen indoors: After the recitation the prayer leader put first the baby's right and then his left foot in a bowl of water with *faiding* and *fartagu*. *Faiding* is a succulent plant used in many rituals to bring about coolness. *Fartagu* is a variety of creeping grass (*Eleusine indica* Gaertn.). The roots of these herbs still contained sand regarded as earth. Though the prayer leader was a Gimán, this indoor variation may just be one of Weda origin as the father came from Central Halmahera.

Though not in any way connected with the ritual, about this time a name is given to the child. This is not his official Muslim name (which he will get

during the circumcision feast), but it will often remain attached to the child in addition to the other name because people are already used to it.

First hair-cutting

The next ritual in a person's life, shaving (*hilelis*), is performed when the infant's head is covered with sufficient hair. Nowadays scissors are used. Before Islam was accepted by the Gimán, they did not practice the first hair-cutting. This may be inferred from the fact that it is unknown among the Sawai, a related non-Islamic ethnic group in Central Halmahera, before they became Christians (*Sedikit Sawai* 1949), and the non-Islamic Tobelo of North Halmahera do not have this practice either (Hueting 1921-22).

All life-cycle rituals, and others like the house-building ritual or the celebration of a hadji's return from the Holy Land, are performed at a feast table. The ritual of the fortieth day necessarily has a table of restricted length, being held indoors. For the first hair-cutting a very long feast table, consisting of a long row of tables put together end to end, is set up in front of the house, and sometimes another is set on on the verandah, if there is one. No food is placed on the table, but a number of special objects are placed at the head of the table, including:

- Two coconuts flattened at the top and at the bottom, stripes of bark peeled off intermittently. On top are two small flags made of paper money (usually Rp 100). Sometimes the coconuts are put on a tray. A coconut is only needed when the ritual is performed for just one child. The object is then reckoned to be his friend (*ni lalomu*). In this way an even number is created thus reaching the desired completeness (see Teljeur 1990:187). For two or more children no coconut is necessary but nowadays two are always placed on the table because the meaning is often forgotten.
- A plate with two herbs – *fartagu* grass and possibly *pundak* leaves. *Pundak* is a small species of pandanus with sweet-smelling leaves, used in rituals (*Pandanus amaryllifolius* Roxb.). Coconut milk is poured on the herbs. A little mirror (not always) and a number of pairs of scissors, corresponding with the number of children for whom the ritual is performed, are put on the plate.
- The *toan bobaya*, a pile of the baby's clothes. An object serving as a means of drawing in others of the same kind to itself is called a *toan*. *Bobaya*, a Ternatan loan-word, is derived from *bai* (to show). The pile of clothes is shown in public to express the wish that the child may prosper. For two children two piles are set down.
- A saucer put on the clothes or on a separate tray for the money to be given by the guests.

All the married men of the village are invited to sit at the feast table. Before taking their seats, they hide money (usually Rp 100), often wrapped in a handkerchief, in the right hand, which they give to the host as they shake his hand. This gift is called *baleta*.² The gift-giving is regarded a meritorious act. Women enter the house through the back door (the kitchen) carrying dishes of food, which is their way of giving *baleta*.

The men start chanting *dikir*: a collective recitation of Arabic texts using particular melodies and accompanied by a few tambourines and sometimes a drum. This is done because as an infant Muhammad was entertained with play. It is one of the many examples of Gimán ritual imitation of the Prophet's life. The recitation takes two hours and is read from a printed book, the *Sarafalanam*, which relates to the life of Muhammad (*Sharafi'l-anâm* in Arabic, birth of the glory of humanity, see Juynboll 1925:116).³ Though nobody knows Arabic, I was told that the section about Muhammad's birth up to his first hair-cutting is recited.

After an hour and a half of *dikir* the father comes out of the house to the feast table with the child in his arms. Now the prayer leader takes some coconut water from the plate with his hand and rubs it into the baby's hair. Then he takes the scissors, cuts a bit of the hair and puts it with the scissors onto the plate.⁴ Next a banknote of Rp 100 is placed in the infant's right hand and the mirror is held before his face. The father puts the money, which is meant for the baby, in the saucer.

In the meantime the other guests have assembled round the father and his child, and follow the prayer leader's actions although they do not use the mirror and put the money directly onto the saucer. Three to four guests are sufficient to meet the ritual requirements (*sarat*). The other men only have to moisten the baby's hair.

The recitation is resumed for another hour. After some time rice is thrown on the guests by the public and three or four girls approach them carrying pinang flower buds in their hands. They flog the participants quite hard on their backs with these buds.⁵ This custom is called *bobo roi*, and its meaning seems to be unknown.

² The word *baleta* is probably borrowed from the Dutch 'belet (vragen)': '(asking for an appointment'. The gift is handed over at various occasions, as we will see.

³ 'Biographies of the Prophet in verses and rhymed prose, alternated with songs of praise' are known in the Muslim world as *maulid* (Juynboll 1925:116; compare the similar Acehnese way of reciting in Snouck Hurgronje 1893-94, I:226).

⁴ Only once, at a first hair-cutting, did I see the prayer leader, after cutting the baby's hair, proceed to take some more coconut water to rub it in the baby's hands. Next he pressed the feet on the plate. Resembling the child's first touching of the earth, it might have been a case of including the ritual of the fortieth day to reduce expenses.

⁵ An elder woman related that formerly striking was not done. Only pinang flowers were thrown over the guests. She could not tell why it had been changed.

After another half an hour of *dikir* chanting most guests leave. A few continue the recitation to the end.

Circumcision

According to Islam circumcision is not obligatory but merely recommendable. The word *sunat* means circumcision also in Gimán. Yet, like elsewhere in the Muslim world, the Gimán insist upon circumcision as something obligatory (*wajib*), which is regarded a meritorious act. 'The prophet was born circumcised' the Gimán maintain, thus repeating the universal legend of Muhammad's miraculous birth. 'We must follow him and be circumcised ourselves.'

Girls are often 'circumcised' just before the ritual of the fortieth day, thus reducing the expenses of an otherwise too costly circumcision feast. The act involves a very light scraping of the clitoris, well over an hour before sunrise. This has to be preceded by pouring water over the child and saying a prayer formula (*doa*) which is transferred to a moment before the previous sunset because of a taboo on bathing during the night.

Boys are usually between seven and ten years old when they are circumcised. Any younger is considered to be too great a risk. A boy is bathed after sunrise and circumcised directly afterwards. The operation, performed by the local vaccinator (*mantri*), consists of putting the top of the foreskin between a bamboo clip and cutting it off with a razor-blade while saying a Koranic formula. The act is called *wotu kobit*, to lay the foreskin over the edge of a knife, referring to the earlier practice abolished only a few years ago (probably with the arrival of the vaccinator) of making an incision into the foreskin after *wotu kobit*. This is probably not an example of a pre-Islamic custom though the Muslim inhabitants of nearby Bacan have practiced a form of incision (Tacoma 1922) and the Muslims of Sula were allowed to choose between orthodox circumcision (*sunat*) and indigenous incision (*bau koi*), according to Riedel (1885:404). Still the Gimán are more closely related to the Central Halmaheran non-Islamic Sawai and Buli, among whom incision was apparently unknown,⁶ while it was generally practised among the Muslims of that area (Ruiter 1937:43-4). Among the culturally related non-Austronesian speaking North Halmaheran population it is only known among Muslims. Elsewhere in Indonesia (though certainly not everywhere) circumcision is indeed older than the introduction of Islam and ancient techniques like incision were initially accepted by adherents of

⁶ There is no mention of incision or circumcision in *Sedikit Sawai* 1949. In Maan's Buli dictionary (Maan 1940) circumcision (*sunat*) is only mentioned in the finder list, not in the dictionary itself. It is known, however, that some of the Buli are Muslim.

this religion as valid (Schrieke 1921-22). Like the first hair-cutting, circumcision was introduced to the Gimán via Ternate by an Islamic variation marked by West Indonesian influences.

A boy's circumcision is seen as a necessary preparation for marriage. If the foreskin is not removed, unclean sperma will be left behind and render the person ritually unclean (*harám*) and thereby unfit to participate in rituals. He would not be allowed to touch the Koran, to say a ritual prayer, to join in a Koranic recitation at the feast table, or to observe the fast. It follows that a man would be unable to represent his wife and children during rituals and would therefore be unfit for marriage. Besides, there is an esoteric reason: by passing through the mother's womb the child has become unclean. An incestuous relationship is thought to exist between a male child and his mother and sisters which can only be removed by circumcision which thus sets him free to marry. It is said that 'circumcision is like a banana'. To be able to eat one, it must first be peeled (the uncleanness must be removed). That is why a person must be circumcised before he 'eats'. Such an interpretation of circumcision turns it into an initiation ritual. This is supported by the idea that circumcision is the first of three steps on the road to adulthood, the second and third being teeth-filing and marriage. Each step involves a further removing of sin (*ayolu dosa*).⁷

In the past the operation itself constituted only a small part of the great circumcision feast which is said to have been celebrated over seven nights, the ideal duration of a feast. Today, however, a considerable lapse of time passes between the operation and the feast which itself has been shortened to 24 hours, from sunset to sunset. The programme is as follows:

20.00 hours	<i>sapák</i> (<i>doa salamat</i> followed by <i>sapák wadaka</i>)
at night or in the morning	circumcision (in reality done long before)
11.00 hours	first hair-cutting (optional)
16.00 hours	<i>doa salamat</i> if the first public recitation of the Koran is not done (see below)
17.00 hours	first public recitation of the Koran combined with a <i>doa salamat</i> (optional)

The feast is combined with a first hair-cutting and/or a first public recitation of the Koran to reduce expenses, like the usual practice in Indonesia (Kern 1947:42). But for many people it is still too expensive. They circumcise in secret (*hasunat hapipungkik*), celebrating the feast in private, indoors. After visiting the mosque they will select a few men from the public and quietly invite them to sit at the feast table.

For a public feast guests are invited in a formal way. During the afternoon a boy walks in with a list of the names of the guests in his hand. In a few

⁷ The first public recitation of the Koran is omitted in this interpretation. Possibly it does not remove sin.

words he informs the family that they are invited. A guest may excuse himself by remarking that he sends his greetings (*hinatik salám*). When the feast table is almost ready, the boy returns with a second invitation calling *Sidolak jo!* in the doorway, Gimánized Ternatan idiom for 'I stop you, sir!'. The idea is to stop the guests from going elsewhere and to urge them to come to the feast immediately. Thereupon the guests will dress and make themselves ready to go.

On their arrival the male guests present the master of the house with a *baleta* gift and take a seat at the feast table. The women enter the house through the kitchen to sit down on mats on the floor in the living-room. When everyone is present a common ten-minute Koran recitation, in the form of a prayer for well-being (*doa salamat*) is started at the feast table to 'make a present to the older ones' (*hadiat mamatú*), the deceased, to help them in the hereafter. Afterwards, indoors, while tea and sweets are being served and the male guests begin a lengthy chat, the children for whom the circumcision feast is held 'ascend' (*sapák*) a bed of state furnished with beautiful pillows and a mosquito net. An elder woman rubs their whole bodies with whitening (*wadaka*) while saying a prayer formula. The powdering is meant to make their body soft and to make them shining, that is, to enhance their beauty. From now on the children, at least those old enough to have any idea about what is going on, are not allowed to descend (*tobi*) from the bed until the next morning, in former times being the moment of circumcision. The importance of the 'ascending for whitening' (*sapák wadaka*) is reflected in the fact that this name is also given to the whole night: *sapák*.

Visitors come and go. Music is played by the young people and songs, particularly those of the *lala* genre, are sung. Usually this is done outside where all kinds of dances are performed at night: *hasa* (the war dance), *rongge*, *jau gia* and *langkas* (for a description see Teljeur 1990:27-30). The circumcised children take their meals on the bed and are only allowed to slip away for a moment for calls of nature. In former times the children had to sit on the bed (*bolu dongat li*) for two or three nights. This longer period was customary among all Muslims of Central and South Halmahera (Ruiter 1937:43-4). The Gimán do not know its meaning, but see our analysis below.

The following afternoon a *doa salamat* is held for the circumcised. A lengthy feast table is prepared. In the middle yellow rice mountains alternate with piles of *jaha* sticks in a long, long row, starting with a yellow rice mountain at the head of the table. *Jaha* sticks are made from rice placed in long bamboo tubes with coconut milk, heated over a fire, and afterwards cut in equal pieces; these pieces are then tied together in piles. On both sides are plates with saucers for fish and sauce.

A number of objects are laid out at the head of the table, including:

- A *jaha* boat (*jaha ni wog*). This is a *jaha* pile in a larger design: a raft made of pieces of sago leaf stalks on which a pile of white rice sticks are tied down with a palm leaf. Sometimes the sides are decorated with a zigzag line, painted on with a piece of turmeric root.
- A large plate filled with a yellow rice mountain, occasionally encircled with a crenated pandanus leaf for embellishment, and topped by a fried egg to which one or two shelled, hard-boiled eggs are pinned with a stick. This is a yellow rice mountain in a bigger model.
- Two coconuts flattened at the top and at the bottom, on top of which are two small flags made of paper money (usually Rp 100) just as at the first hair-cutting.
- A dish of water, possibly with some *fartagu* grass.
- A bowl of *saro-saro*, cakes in the form of a man, a frog, a snake, or a ring.

The guests are again invited to take their seats at the table and to start a collective Koran recitation. Afterwards the prayer leader takes the cakes, and moves them to and fro in front of the faces of the circumcised children, meanwhile expressing a wish that starts with the word *saro-saro*. For example: '*Saro-saro*, he is good at school and becomes a teacher', '*Saro-saro*, he gets a high rank', '*Saro-saro*, when older he goes on pilgrimage to Mecca', '*Saro-saro*, she marries a hadji' (the last wish may be meant in jest). Now the feast is ended, except that the young people spend another night dancing.

First public recitation of the Koran

At an early age a child learns to read the Arabic letters and to recite from a reading-book, the little Koran, which contains the principal sections, for the Koran itself may not be touched until after circumcision.

The Gimán consider it of little importance that Arabic is not understood. The point is to master the skill of reciting in the prescribed way without making mistakes because it is precisely this skill that enables a man to participate in the rituals. For him it is an absolute condition for marriage. However, girls learn to recite as well. The teaching is done either by the father himself or by a married man who knows to recite accurately. Often a personal relationship between teacher and pupil will continue for life.

After circumcision a child will 'ascend the Koran' (*sapák Kurán*): he recites chapter after chapter up to the 'Koran's liver' (*Kurán ni yocu*), the local term for the central word in the Koran, printed in red (in the editions sold in Ternate). When this point is reached it is the occasion for a ritual called 'to change direction in the Koran' (*waik Kurán*) or a religious meal to praise Allah (*arwahan subahana*). From now on a child will 'descend the

Koran' (*tobi Kurán*) and is allowed to recite from the second half of the book. At one occasion I witnessed, a row of yellow and white rice mountains were placed alternately on a feast table indoors. No egg topped the yellow rice this time. Next to the plates were bowls of goat (or chicken) soup. The guests sat down and started a Koran recitation after which only a small portion of their food was eaten. The rice was not consumed at the feast table but, instead, afterwards half a white and half a yellow rice mountain per guest were carried home by the guest's own or other people's children.

After each child has finished the second half of the Koran he or she has to perform the first public recitation of the Koran (*pei hatám Kurán*). To reduce expenses people wait till a number of children are ready for the ritual (which may again be combined with a circumcision feast).

For a public celebration a long feast table is set in front of the house under the roof of a shed built for the occasion. Yellow rice mountains alternate with white *jaha* piles in a long row. Plates for the guests are laid down on both sides with a bowl of chicken or goat soup and a saucer of fish. There ought to be a bowl of *gule* for each of the guests, a traditional dish consisting of a mixture of coconut milk, sugar, rice porridge and green peas. This is fairly regularly done in Puliló, but rarely in Pulikin.

The ritual starts at about five o'clock in the afternoon. Having been invited in the same way as for a circumcision feast, the guests give the host *baleta* money and take their seats at the feast table. The children for whom the ritual is performed sit at the head, with a Koran in front of each child. After a collective recitation by the guests, each child in turn recites a few verses from the Koran. The feast strongly resembles the passing of an examination: the yellow rice mountain and the *jaha* pile in front of the children act as witnesses (*saksi*) guarding against a possible mistake. A curse will fall upon the child who does make such a mistake. This is clear from the hidden witnesses put on a table indoors: a white plate, a white bowl, a knife that will pursue the failing examinee, a white cloth meaning death, and a mirror reminding one of the fact that one is facing it alone: 'If you look into a mirror, you see only yourself'. Reciting is a risky matter!

As usual the ritual ends with a meal. The complete 'witness' objects are subsequently delivered at the teacher's home.

Teeth-filing

Like the Sawai and the Buli, who are related yet predominantly non-Islamic ethnic groups in Central Halmahera, the Gimán have practised teeth-filing (*hilpú*) for centuries, as do the non-Islamic North Halmaheran Tobelo (*Sedikit Sawai* 1949:4; Maan 1940:104; Hueting 1921-22, I:309-10). The blackening of teeth, known from other parts of Indonesia, was (and still is?)

found among the Sawai and the Tobelo (*Sedikit Sawai* 1949:5; Huetling 1921-22, I:308). However, though teeth-filing has survived the introduction of Islam among the Gimán, blackening the teeth has not. Nowadays the Gimán consider it a heathen (*kafir*) custom. They do not even remember having practised it in the past.

Evidently teeth-filing may find its place in the Indonesian variation of Islam to which the Gimán were converted. Like some Javanese Muslims (Snouck Hurgronje 1893-4, I:441) they base the custom on a legendary incident at the battle of Uhud in Arabia:⁸ 'Once the prophet Muhammad fought the heathen. He hid in a cave. The enemy was near. When someone heard a house lizard (*cicak*) inside the cave he threw a stone. The stone hit one of Muhammad's teeth so that it broke off. That is why he let his teeth file evenly.' The legend places the filing the teeth in relationship to Muhammad's life, making it *Sunnah* in terms of the law.⁹

Teeth-filing rituals are held on the Festival of the Fast-Breaking at the end of the fasting month (Teljeur 1985:222-4). Only the incisors are rubbed level using a small grindstone. According to the patients the treatment is not painful at all, but the grindings have a very sour taste. Teeth-filing is thought to embellish the teeth, thus rendering the person more attractive as a marriage partner. Most, but not all, boys and girls from 13 to 16 years old have their teeth filed, and some have it done twice (*hadadu*). It is seen as the second of the three steps of removing sin on the way to adulthood (see above), namely circumcision, teeth-filing and marriage. It is not clear to me, however, what 'sin' is removed during this stage or whether it is the unevenness of the incisors.

I witnessed the following ritual. It commenced at noon. The *tukang*, a man who is skilled at doing the job, recited a formula over a bowl of water, after which the first patient, a girl, rinsed her mouth with it. Then she lay down on a bed placed for the occasion in the living-room. Another girl put a cloth from her one ear along her chin to the other ear and pressed it against the head to keep the jaw steady during filing. A cassette recorder played music (formerly the young people played themselves). Elsewhere in the room there were four rice mountains on a table. Each mountain was placed on a large plate and surrounded by four bananas. A boiled egg topped two rice mountains. The *tukang* said that the number of mountains must always be four but the number of eggs has to correspond with the number of

⁸ According to the *tukang* mentioned below, Adam and Eve were also involved but this 'secret' he was only willing to tell to a close friend.

⁹ The story has other consequences too: 'That's why the house lizard must be killed. But it is not allowed to kill only one: 44 lizards must be killed. One puts them into a miniature pirogue with a sail on it which has to be sent to the sea. This is approved of by Muhammad. It is a meritorious work.'

patients. However, unexpectedly, more than four young people, three boys and three girls, reported for the operation, two of whom were having it done for the second time. The rice and bananas and, more particularly the eggs, count as 'witness' (*saksi*) of the event and are therefore later given to the *tukang* as wages. They also serve as 'medicine' (*udam*) for the patients during their treatment.

On a chair next to the bed stood a bowl of water in which were placed a piece of *faiding* succulent, two small grindstones, two pieces of wood in the form of a cork, and a slice of lemon. The *tukang* placed the wood between the patient's teeth to keep her mouth open. Then he started working with a grindstone, occasionally dipping it into the water. The girl repeatedly spat the grindings into a bowl placed on the floor near to the bed. People came along to give *baleta*: they put money (Rp 50 or 100) onto a saucer on the bed. The money is given to the *tukang* to pay the (grind)stone (*polas lai*).

After filing the upper teeth, the *tukang* covered them with a piece of wood wrapped in white (in other cases also red) cotton and continued with the lower incisors. Afterwards he cleansed the teeth with nipa fibre. Then he took the stone and went once more along all the teeth, making a squeaking sound with his lips (*basisuduf*). This sound is made in Gimán medicinal practice to determine the exact spot of a disease. Then he rubbed tobacco along the teeth, said a formula over a bowl of water and handed it to the girl to rinse her mouth with. This marked the end of the operation. The only thing left for her to do was to chew betel quid.

After all the young people had their teeth levelled, the rice and bananas were removed from the table, which was then turned into a small feast table supplied with white rice, fish and tea. A few elders were invited to sit down and do the reciting. In this case only two responded. A meal was taken afterwards.

Marriage

The Gimán view marriage as the last step on the road to adolescence, removing the sin of staying unmarried. The ideal kind of marriage, and the most expensive one, is called 'marriage by proposal' (*kain basadód*). The parents start this proposal by sending a messenger to the girl's parents to inform them of their visit, so preparations can be made in time. As with any other visit people begin by chatting about general things and drinking tea. Only after some time is the proposal put forward.¹⁰ This may lead to a very long discussion ending with the girl's parents saying: *Maáf* (sorry), a sign

¹⁰ Up until the Second World War this conversation was carried on in the form of poems (*sair*) in the Ternatan language.

that the proposal is not accepted. Nevertheless the boy's parents are always allowed to try again, but a third refusal is considered definite.

Of course the girl's parents may accept the proposal which they indicate by saying that they first want to talk to their daughter before taking a decision. The next day, having sent a messenger in advance, the boy's parents will come to fix the date of the wedding. Officially nothing is said about expenses: this is dealt with the night before the wedding ceremony.

Marriage payments

During that night a small procession of the bridegroom's family carries rice, tobacco, sugar, flour and money to the bride's house, the first of a series of four marriage payments. This is called delivering the purchases (*hatobi balanja*). After arrival the other payments are made or agreed upon. In fact this delivering of the purchases is a recent phenomenon and a means of avoiding the customary *suba* payment. The name *suba* refers to a specific act of subjection, also called *suba* (from Indonesian *sembah*): kneeling down before a person and holding the palms of the hands together in front of one's forehead. The gesture is said to have been abolished since Independence, because it was considered too humiliating for free citizens.

The *suba* payment was accompanied by this gesture. It was intended as a compensation for the loss of respect paid by the daughter to her paternal grandfather, or if he had died, to her father. It consisted of two parts: the *suba* itself which had to be paid by the bridegroom's father to the bride's grandfather or father, and the wedding expenses. By Independence it was already a long-established practice to present the payments to the bridegroom's party. Nowadays the *suba* part of the payment is avoided by a practice introduced from Ternate: the bride's party asks for the purchases (*dod balanja*) to be delivered by the bridegroom's party. The result is the procession mentioned above. During the same night other payments follow, or are agreed upon: the *kain tatú*, the *susa apsu*, and finally the *babat* or *sabát*.

The *kain tatú* or 'brideprice' is not, unlike the other payments mentioned here, classified as adat (customs with a special status). It is identified with the obligatory Muslim bride price and comes under Islamic law (*hukum agama*). According to this law one is only married if a bride price has been paid.¹¹ This brideprice is to be paid by the bridegroom personally, although if

¹¹ The amount of money paid for the 'marriage price' is less if the bride has been married several times already. No money has to be paid marrying her for the fifth time though one has to give a white bowl. That this is not just theory is illustrated by a case in Pulikin where a woman was married for the seventh time.

Table 1. List of marriage payments in Pulikin (1979)

Payment	Bride's <i>soan</i>	Amount in reals (R) or rupiahs (Rp)
<i>Payments by the bridegroom's party</i>		
<i>balanja</i>	general	Rp 50,000-100,000
<i>suba</i> (abolished)	Toman, Wólai, Luin Bínai	R 10 (Rp 2,000)
	Bibuif, Sat, Paneli	R 5 (Rp 1,000)
<i>kain tatú</i>	Toman, Wólai, Luin Bínai	R 50 (Rp 10,000)
	Bibuif	R 30 (Rp 6,000)
	Sat Paneli	R 20 (Rp 4,000)
<i>susa apsu</i>	general	R 1.5 (Rp 300)
<i>babat</i>	general	a cloth
procession stop*	general	Rp 200-500 to 2,000
entering the shed*	general	Rp 1,000-2,000
paying the <i>adat</i> door	Toman, Wólai, Luin Bínai	R 1-5 (Rp 1,000-5,000)
	Bibuif, Sat, Paneli	R 0.5 (Rp.500)
paying the fanning girls	Toman, Wólai, Luin Bínai	R 1 (Rp 1,000)
	Bibuif, Sat, Paneli	R 0.5 (Rp.500)
entering the veil*	general	up to Rp 8,000
lifting the scarf	Toman, Wólai, Luin Bínai	R 2 (Rp 1,000)
	Bibuif, Sat, Paneli	R 1 (Rp 500)
paying the bed of state	general	R 5 (Rp 1,000)
<i>Payments by the bride's party</i>		
<i>wopal</i> (abolished)	general	antique dish, white glazed bowl, glass
<i>tut</i> (dowry)	general	winnows, sieves etc
procession stop*	general	Rp 200-500 to 2,000
entering the shed*	general	Rp 1,000-2,000

* one of the festal games (*bisa de lebang*)

he lacks the money his father or elder sibling may pay. When it is paid by his elder sibling a gift, the *wopal*, has to be returned by the bride's party to this sibling. It consists of one large plate, one white glazed bowl, one drinking-glass (*pigan laloál pso*, *sopa pso*, *galás pso*, see Table 1). The plate is an antique porcelain dish, part of a heirloom, while the other two objects have to be new. In Pulikin this custom has been abolished as being incompatible with the teaching of Islam: by paying the brideprice the bridegroom pays her person (*npolas ni diri*) i.e. the claims on her are transferred to him from her family. But if he accepts a return gift, these rights will no longer apply, according to Islam. Puliló, however, still maintains the original custom. This results in a remarkable compromise when a boy from Pulikin marries a Puliló girl: some pay the brideprice twice. The first time the *wopal* is given in return, but not the second time.

Spittle of the mother's breast (*susa apsu*) is the name for a payment compensating the nursing of the bride. It is given by the bridegroom to the bride's maternal grandmother.

The *babat* consists of a cloth to be given by the bridegroom to the bride's mother or her older sister. The word is related to *bat*, meaning 'to carry a person piggyback', which she did with the bride when she was still an infant.

Four other adat payments are handed over by the bridegroom's party on the wedding day: paying the adat door, paying the fanning girls, lifting the scarf, and paying the bed of state. In return the bride's party gives the bride's gifts (*tut*), also classified as adat payment. These consist of one or more winnows, sieves, a number of bamboo fire-tongs with woven objects (*ngele-ngele*) used for hanging spoons or tongs, mats, a sago oven, pans, places, drinking-glasses. It does not have to be complete at all 'for it is adat'. Afterwards the objects are distributed among the bridegroom's siblings, and his parents receive what is left.

The payments classified as *hukum* and adat, given by the bridegroom's party, are expressed in 'reals' (*riál*), an imaginary monetary unit untouched by inflation, being constantly adapted to the current money-value. The conversion to Indonesian rupiah was not regulated by a fixed scale (at least not in 1978-1980), as Table 1 shows.

Besides *hukum agama* and adat there is a category of payments belonging to the so-called festal games (*bisa de lebang*). They are agreed upon by way of haggling, and occur during the wedding day and the day after.

Another interesting point is the variability of payments in relation to the *soan* membership of the bride. In Pulikin the *soan* or patrilineal groups Toman, Wólai, Luin and Bínai, having a higher status as the original owners of the village, must be paid a higher price than the newcomers: Bibuif, Sat and Paneli, though in the case of the brideprice Bibuif has an intermediary status because of its privilege of furnishing the Imam for Pulikin (see Teljeur 1990:151).

Sitting on the bed

A 'marriage by proposal' may lead to a seven-day wedding ceremony. But usually this period is shortened to one or two days and many activities are omitted, as on the occasion of other adat marriages. One wedding I witnessed, however, took eight days. The first night (a day begins at sunset) was on a Thursday which is considered a lucky day for a wedding. That night and the next the festivities consisted simply of the young people meeting for a little drumming and dancing. During the day a shed was built in front of the verandah of the bride's, as well as the bridegroom's, house.

Under its roof tables and benches were put out for the guests.

On the Saturday night at nine o'clock the bridegroom's family delivered the purchases to the bride's house (see above), where the other payments were arranged. They amounted to the considerable sum of Rp 100,000. On Sunday no festivities took place, except that the youngsters did some drumming. But the following night was the occasion of 'ascending (the bed for the) whitening' (*sapák wadaka*), a virtually identical ceremony to that performed during the circumcision feast. After the usual recitation the bride and the bridegroom were powdered, each in their own houses. I observed what happened in the bridegroom's house: he sat on the bed in the front room. On a little table next to the bed a bowl of water and a plate with whitening were placed, over which an old man softly muttered a spell. Then another man, a family member, rubbed the groom's face and back with the whitening. Next, the two men powdered each other's faces and then other people entered the room one by one and rubbed a bit of the whitening onto the bridegroom's face. Finally an older woman came. She muttered a spell and again rubbed his body with the whitening. When this was finished, the bridegroom began the 'sitting on the bed' (*bolu dongat li*) until the moment of the wedding ceremony.

The period of staying on the bed is clearly a time of separation that precedes both the circumcision and the wedding ceremony. The purpose of rubbing the body with whitening to make the body shine (*cahaya*) perhaps has more meaning if compared to the use of the raceme of pinang flowers in the house-building ritual (Teljeur 1990:60-3, 72). During the night the pinang flowers are kept in the house (just like the candidates for circumcision or marriage) to be suspended, early the following morning, from the upper sections of the corner posts to decorate the new house. In nature, wild pinang flowers suddenly burst out of the sheath, showing a sparkling white (*cahaya*) bunch of flowers. It may be inferred that the bursting out symbolizes birth, just as in the case of the house-building ritual the birth of the house is enacted. Likewise the candidates in the circumcision and the marriage ceremonies are born into the new status of a Muslim and a married person respectively.

It seems then we have here an example of a rite of passage. Ruiter (1937:43-4) has shown that in case of circumcision the sitting on the bed was practised among the Muslims of South and Central Halmahera. As to marriage, neither Ruiter nor any other source supplies any information about that area, though I once happened to observe the whitening of bride and bridegroom in Foya, a Muslim village in South Halmahera speaking Weda, one of the languages of Central Halmahera, which suggests that the marriage ritual is more or less the same among the Muslims of both South and

Central Halmahera.¹² The probable absence of the sitting on the bed among non-Muslims in Halmahera, and its presence in South as well as Central Halmahera which were formerly ruled by the Islamic Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore respectively, imply that this custom may have been adapted, together with Islam, from these Sultanates.¹³

The wedding ceremony

In the marriage ceremony described here the two houses were again visited on Tuesday night. The men handed the host their *baleta* and were treated to tea and cakes. Later a short Koran recitation (*doa salamat*) was performed. At the same time the women and children entered the house through the kitchen carrying dishes of food and assisted in preparing the wedding supper. The village youth made themselves useful in cutting wood and other activities necessary for the wedding celebration. This work, called *baleleán*, continued until the next morning.

On the Wednesday at sunset the male guests gathered in front of the bridegroom's house. Having greeted (*habaleta*) the host, they had tea and cakes at the feast table, followed by a *doa salamat*, after which most men went home to eat.

At about eight o'clock that night the bridegroom descended from the bed, was dressed in the wedding costume and walked slowly, in a stately manner, out of the bedroom and the house. In the meantime the male guests had come back and stood talking in front of the house while their wives were inside. They all joined the bridegroom in a procession to the bride's house, the so-called delivering of the bridegroom (*hatobi minoi maón*), with much cheering and *dikir* chanting accompanied by tambourines. On the way they were stopped twice by the bride's party, the father demanding payment. The

¹² The non-Islamic marriage rituals in North Halmahera are quite different. 'Sitting on the bed' in preparation of the wedding is absent. Among the Tobelo of Kao and Dodinga (and only among them) the bride has to sit on a 'bank' for four or seven days respectively, but this takes place after the wedding ceremony (Huetting 1921-22, I:108).

¹³ To my knowledge nowhere in Indonesia do marriage rituals share more elements with that of the Gimán than among the Muslim Makassarese and Buginese of South Sulawesi: a shed is built in front of the house for the male wedding guests, on the night before the wedding a mixture is applied to parts of the skin of bride and bridegroom (the colour here is red, not white) followed by a night-watch with cakes and songs. The bridegroom is brought in procession to the bride's house accompanied by *dikir* chanting which reaches its climax in front of the bride's house. The procession is stopped several times on its way and at the entrance to demand payment. A white cloth is rolled out to the door, a bed of state is prepared for the couple (or two of these), the bride is sitting behind a veil and the bridegroom may only enter it after a payment. The bridal procession is more or less identical with that of the bridegroom and, finally, the bride-price is counted in 'reals' (Matthes 1875:12-44; Chabot 1950:176-94).

bridegroom's family reacted by haggling. This is one of the festal games not classified as adat (see Table 1). The nearer they came to the bride's house, the more enthusiastic the singing became. Right before the entrance to the shed in front of the bride's house the bargaining was repeated, following which the bridegroom entered the house, accompanied by an almost deafening shouting and cheering. Both parties sat down on the verandah while the public stood around or sat under the roof of the shed.

Marriage among the Gimán is consecrated according to Muslim law. The Shafiite law codes describe a marriage contract as one 'concluded between the bride's *wali* and the bridegroom, in which the first party offers for marriage a daughter or an otherwise-related woman, and the bridegroom accepts her as his wife on condition that he will pay her a bridewealth, usually defined in the contract itself' (Juynboll 1925:191; see also Snouck Hurgronje 1893-94, I:359). The following persons are allowed to function as *wali*: first the father, in his default the father's father, and so on; and next the brothers (see for further details Juynboll 1925:177-8 and Snouck Hurgronje 1893-94, I:361). In almost all cases the *wali* has himself represented by a *wakil* though he himself may be present at the wedding ceremony. The reason for this is that to conduct a valid marriage one has to be well-informed about the contract's stipulations. Such an expert is authorized by the *wali* and then conducts the marriage as a *wakil*. This procedure is the most common one in most of Indonesia as well as elsewhere, such as in Arabia (Snouck Hurgronje 1893-94, I:363-4; see also Juynboll 1925:177, 195).¹⁴

The mosque personnel, the two witnesses and the older men sat near each other on the verandah, together with the bridegroom who took a seat facing the *hatib* (the man who reads the Friday sermon at the mosque) who acted as *wakil*. Both sat on mats and pillows. They held their right thumbs and forefingers against each other under a handkerchief while their elbows rested on a pillow. The *wakil* said two prayers: the ritual formula to avert Allah's visitations (*doa tulak balá*), which is meant to take away hindrances between the *wakil* and the bridegroom, and a *doa salamat*. Next the *wakil* announced the marriage offer: 'I say Sahír (the groom's name), I marry you to Asmá Mudín's (the bride's name) *wakil* with a brideprice of 5,000 rupiah' (this was said in the language of Ternate: *He Sahír, tosikai ngana se mina Asmá Mudín mi walí wakil se mi kai ma ija rupia calanromtoha*). Thereafter he pulled strongly at the bridegroom's thumb, invisible to the bystanders as it was covered by the handkerchief, as a sign that the latter had to speak the words of acceptance. As usual the offer was repeated several

¹⁴ Divorce (*talák*, 'repudiation of the wife by the husband') is carried out according to Islamic law (see Juynboll 1925:205-6; Snouck Hurgronje 1893-94, I:404-5).

times. All this is general Muslim practice (Snouck Hurgronje 1893-94, I:364-5, 372).

The bridegroom's softly spoken words of acceptance got lost in the general rush of the bystanders who suddenly broke into loud cheering, the marriage now being completed. He stood up, shook hands (*makudasi*) with a few older men (not belonging to the bride's family), and walked slowly to the front door. There he was kept from entering by the younger people who demanded payment. This is called paying the adat door (*polas ngara adat*). After the amount was settled, the bridegroom was led indoors where he shook hands, first of all with his father-in-law, then his mother-in-law, next his siblings-in-law. This is still called *subak*, to subject oneself to (a verb derived from *suba*, the abolished act of subjection, implying that this had indeed once been the custom).

The living-room was crowded with women sitting on mats. A cloth at the back of the room concealed the bride who was seated on a bed of state¹⁵ with a scarf (*kukudung*, an Indonesian word) loosely covering her head. At both the right and the left sides of the bed stood a little girl waving a fan. They are the bride's sibling's daughters. The bridegroom's younger brother had paid the fanning girls (*polas alipai si*; see Table 1).

Walking in the direction of the cloth, the groom was once again kept from proceeding by the youngsters who started to shout, arguing with each other about how much money he now had to pay, another festal game. After much haggling the bridegroom was allowed to go behind the cloth where the bride was hidden. The next thing he had to pay for was lifting the scarf (*apasik kukudung*). This was done by removing the scarf from her head and putting the money on it. Then he laid his hand on her head as a sign that he had heard about her with the ears but now he sees her with the eyes. The bridegroom sat down next to her¹⁶ and the cloth was removed so everyone present could see them sitting together. Now the male guests commenced a *doa salamat*, sitting at tables under the shed in front of the house, after which tea and cakes were served. Later the men were replaced by the women. (At another occasion a complete feast table was set up with yellow and white rice mountains and the bridal couple took their seats at the head of the table.)

During this tea a dish was set on the table (sometimes two children come

¹⁵ Formerly the bed of state was called *wele guba*, a Ternatan expression. According to an old woman, Hajija, then there were two beds of state, as one was placed in a room next to the living-room, invisible for the public. Now it is *tampa dudu* (the Indonesian *tempat duduk*, 'seat'). Often it is not actually a bed but just a decorated couch. An adat payment is made by the bridegroom for the decoration of the bed by the *hatib's* wife, called 'paying the bed of state' (*polas tampa dudu*).

¹⁶ Right or left seems to be optional in this case.

carrying a cloth between them) to collect money to buy food, which will be divided among those that assisted in the cooking of the wedding supper. The guests threw money (Rp 50 or 100) into it, called *sag golu* (throwing away *golu*).¹⁷ The bride went along the tables offering betel quid to the groom's brothers/cousins (*bahamagin minoi maón ni lol de mayau*) on the payment of Rp 100. In practice these 'brothers' include the entire bridegroom's family and also the other guests because 'the entire village is related'.

After tea the tables were carried away; it was the time for dancing. As a rule the war dance has to be done first (see Teljeur 1990:27), outside the shed of course, its roof being a bit low for the wild jumping and running it entails. For the next dance, the *rongge*, people returned to the shed. *Rongge* always consists of two pairs, but different girls and boys, and sometimes grown-ups too, constantly take turns throughout the dance (see Teljeur 1990:29); the bridegroom and bride joined by turns in the dance. Participation in the *rongge* by others is not free: one has to put a present on the bridegroom's or bride's shoulders or head in the form of a cloth, a sarong or a banknote. This is called *hadopo* or *basugal*.¹⁸ The gifts are meant for the couple personally. After some time the dance was given free.

The dancing went on till daybreak, and included non-adat dances like *jau gia* and *langkas* (see Teljeur 1990:29),¹⁹ while others played dominoes for hours.

Another festal game worth mentioning is *dodungo*, which seems to be generally known in Halmahera.²⁰ During the wedding the bridegroom's or the bride's party may ask for something from the other party. They send someone who brings the greetings (*hinatik salam*) adding: 'My *dodungo* is [...]', upon which it is announced what kind of object is desired. The bridegroom's party asks for female and the bride's party for male objects, such as a small boat or a machete. This will then be made or given by the other party. The bride's party may also ask the bridegroom to perform a certain dance

¹⁷ Formerly the money was thrown onto the mosquito net covering the bed of state. Among the Sawai *golu* is the payment demanded by the bride's party when stopping the bridegroom's party on its way to the bride (*Sedikit Sawai* 1949:10-1). The meaning of the word *golu* is not known.

¹⁸ *Basugal* seems to refer to the actual giving, *hadopo* more to the custom. Among the Sawai *sugal* in the form of a cloth is given on a different occasion: when the bridegroom's procession approaches the bride's house, he has (had?) to kneel down to make the *suba* to honour his family-in-law and then a cloth is thrown over his face; vice versa when the bride comes to her husband's house (*Sedikit Sawai* 1949:10).

¹⁹ In Teljeur 1985:203, 208 I wrote incorrectly that the bridegroom's family had to pay for each dance.

²⁰ For example among the Sawai (they call it *reror*, 'request') (*Sedikit Sawai* 1949:12), the Tobelo (*ho dungono*) (Huetting 1921-22, I:321). *Dodungo* is a loan-word from Ternate.

which will then be answered by a return gift (*sima*). For instance when the groom is to perform a war dance they have to give a mat (a *musalá* or a *sabatan bungan*) later on. Someone else may take his place if he feels unable to dance.

The bridal procession

The following night the bride moved in procession to the bridegroom's house. Her dowry (*tut*) was carried along. Just as during the bridegroom's procession, there was singing and a lot of shouting. Near the bridegroom's house his elder brother stopped the procession, demanding a payment. After a lot of haggling the money was paid, but in front of the entrance to the shed the same procedure was repeated. In the meantime a white runner was unrolled from the front door to this entrance, symbolizing a bridge, so that the bride moves this way from the seaside (*si ncaŋ i lámái*). The moment the bride stepped on the runner, she honoured her family-in-law by bowing her head. Formerly this was the occasion for her to kneel and make the now unpopular *suba* gesture, subjecting herself to her in-laws.

As soon as the bride entered the house, the runner was rolled up. She was brought in by her mother-in-law who sat her on a chair on which a cloth was laid. Then she washed the bride's feet with medicine (water in which a *faidíng* succulent was placed), in imitation, as someone explained to me, of what had formerly happened to the Ruler of Ternate's bride.

After she had sat there for half an hour, the bride stood up and walked to a bedroom where her mother-in-law assisted her in changing all her clothes for new ones given by her family-in-law.

In front of the house tea and cakes were served to the guests, followed by dancing just as after the wedding ceremony, including *hadopo*.

Other marriage types

So far only 'marriage by proposal' has been described. Although it is the most important adat type of marriage, two other types are recognized as adat: 'marriage by subjection' (*kain suba*), and 'waiting-till-daylight' (*habalantuk*). In addition, there are two types of marriage which are definitely not regarded as adat but are still valid because they are contracted according to Muslim law: marriage by capture (*kain balafók*), and 'running away' (*oás*).

The 'marriage by subjection' (*kain suba*) is often contracted between family members, which makes it rather safe to assume that both parties agree. Not the parents, but the boy himself proposes. He goes to the girl's house in the company of the *hatíb* and a 'brother/cousin' (*lol de mayau*). By going in the evening, he expresses the wish to celebrate the wedding on a

larger scale (making a bed of state, for example). A proposal by day implies financial insufficiency.

The *hatib* enters the house with the greeting *Salám aláikum!* Next the boy comes in and gives a hand to the 'bewildered' father, saying: 'Black or white, at your bidding!' (*Kidkuda ka bulang ka, akameu atur odú*) meaning roughly: 'Do you beat me black and blue, that is up to you!' By these words he places himself at the father's mercy. If the father accepts his proposal, the boy goes home and the parents will arrange the wedding later.

The 'waiting-till-daylight' type of marriage involves a riskier way of proposing than the above-mentioned 'marriage by subjection'. At night a boy hides in the girl's bedroom and walks out in the morning. He offers the father a hand or embraces his feet. The parents detain him till his own parents come. This may take three days. Discovering that their son does not come home, they go searching. The girl's parents may then send someone to inquire whether they happen to be looking for 'a chicken' or 'a kitten', and to inform them about this chicken's whereabouts. After the parents have arrived at the house indicated, they inquire about 'the chicken they are looking for', thereby starting the marriage negotiations. The wedding will then be less expensive. However, they may not want to come at all, in which case they have to pay the shame (*polas moi*) because their son has brought disgrace on the girl's parents.

The 'marriage by capture', although regarded as rather dishonourable, is frequently practised. It is a result of the way of courting: at night the boys used to sneak (*basiskoáb*) into their girlfriends' bedrooms. When a girl's parents report it to the mosque personnel, the *hatib* and the *modin* come and capture (*afók*) the boy. The same happens after the fasting month, even without a hint from the parents; then the *hatib* and the *modin* take nightly walks through the village and listen at doors. Any boy they happen to capture they marry to the girl with whom he is detected, regardless of parental approval. The parents just have to concede to the accomplished fact by saying that their hearts have become one already (*didi wlo dadi pso odú*). Unwilling boys are sent to the capital of the subdistrict where they are punished by the official of the department of religion.

In the case of a 'marriage by capture' the procession for delivering the purchases is often omitted. When it takes place, however, it happens not at night but in the morning.

The 'running away marriage' constitutes a type of marriage that is strongly disapproved of by the parents. If the girl's parents do not want a boy to marry their daughter, the couple may run away to another village. All other marriage types are contracted by four special payments (*suba, kain tatú, susa apsu* and *babat*) but in the 'running away' case only a *kain tatú* can be paid, because it will be too dangerous for the fugitives ever to set a foot in

their home village again. However, because Islamic law considers the *kain tatú* sufficient for a legal marriage, the local mosque personnel in the village of arrival is always ready to contract the marriage. As the amount paid for a *kain tatú* is the same for all kinds of marriage (it only varies with the bride's *soan* membership), the 'running away marriage' is particularly inexpensive. The costs are high in a different way: the couple has to live their lives without any family relations.

The death ritual

The last ritual in a life-cycle is, of course, the death ritual which consists of a whole range of activities. 'Like recommended in the law [of Islam], in most Muslim countries religious banquets take place on certain, customarily defined points of time after somebody's death, for instance on the seventh and fortieth day afterwards' (Juynboll 1925:163). Likewise, among the Gimán the cycle begins with the funeral and the funeral banquet (*jawada*), separated by an interim period, the *dina*. A common *dina* takes seven nights including the day the person died and the funeral banquet which is then called *jawada hafit* or funeral banquet (of the) seventh night. Some have a *dina* of nine nights. When a family member dies outside one's village and one is not able to go to that village to attend the death ritual, one joins in by having a *dina* of three or five nights.

Other funeral banquets are held at later dates, distinguished from the first one, the *jawada*, by the name *jawada smengit* (*smengit* means deceased). Like the first *jawada* they are definitely not meant to be organized for the deceased personally nor for specific persons but for all the dead together from the distant past up to the present.²¹ The recitations preceding these meals are referred to as making a present to the elders (*hadiat mamatú*) or to the dead (*hadiat smengit si*). Also the recitation itself is spoken on behalf of all the dead in general in order to promote their well-being in the hereafter. This almost coincides with the view of orthodox Islam: Allah's reward for the reciting and the religious meal is offered to the deceased family member to increase his heavenly wages to advance the soul's repose (Snouck Hurgronje 1893-4, I:229-30). The Gimán usually stress the point that the recitation is meant for all the deceased, and not for a particular person. Nevertheless the dates of these banquets clearly refer to the day a particular individual died: they are held after a hundred days, after exactly one year (a Muslim year of 354 days), and at a thousand days after someone's death.

²¹ The word *jawada* is the Indonesian *juadah*, 'food provisions'. This seems to imply that the banquet is given to the deceased as provisions, though the idea is not compatible with current belief.

There are still further occasions for a funeral banquet, namely when somebody is reminded of the deceased person, chiefly through a dream. The deceased is then believed to have informed the living that he or she is in a nasty place in the hereafter. A funeral banquet held on a lucky day is meant to release the deceased in question (which implies that this banquet at least is not a general one but held for a specific individual). Another method is to kill a goat for consumption at the feast table, the Muslim *cakikah* offering, *kuba hakék* in Gimán language. (Juynboll 1925:150; Snouck Hurgronje 1893-94, I:423). The purpose of the offering is to hand over the goat's soul to Allah to serve as a riding animal for the deceased family member, and to prevent him or her from sinking into hellfire by its ascent. A goat is particularly apt for this purpose because it is able to withstand strong heat. As a matter of fact goats and also chickens are only slaughtered for the feast table and their meat is never consumed except during a ritual. (One exception is the Islamic Festival of the Sacrifice during which some people slaughter a goat. The meat is then divided among the people of the village and consumed privately.)

The funeral

As soon as somebody has died, people talk about it all over the village. Many come visiting the house of mourning. Men enter through the front door and give money or tobacco in the act of shaking hands with the host. This is called *hamoda*, and is identical with *baleta*, except in name. Women come in through the back door and sit down on mats in the living-room. After expressing their condolences the male guests take a seat on the verandah or, if a verandah is lacking, in the living-room. In conversation they avoid the subject of death. Tea and cakes are served, or just tobacco. Sometimes a woman is crying loudly, for instance the mother of a dead child. The funeral will take place within a few hours. When a person dies during the night, he is buried early next morning.

A funeral is organized according to the prescriptions of Islám. The floor of the living-room is covered with cloths. Then the corpse is moved from the bed onto the floor and people lay a cloth over the body. This cloth is again removed when the body is washed. Next the body is wrapped in white cotton and sewed up. Then a short Koranic recitation is spoken near the deceased, after which the corpse is wrapped in colourful cloths which are held together by white ribbons using looped knots which enable one to tear it loose easily when at the grave. Men lift the body and carry it outside, where a bier is standing with a bamboo cabin on top of it over which colourful cloths are laid. The corpse is placed in the cabin.

When a child is buried, the bier is raised immediately and carried to the

cemetery, just outside the village. But in case of an old man, the procedure is more elaborate. Before the body is carried out of the house, a man sweeps the ground between the front door and the bier. Presently a number of men (once I saw six of them) will stand along the bier side by side facing the direction of Mecca (*kiblat*) for a short Koranic recitation. Afterwards four men lift the bier and carry it to the cemetery followed by a number of other men singing Koranic verses. Sometimes a few women and children walk behind the procession.

In the meantime a rectangular grave has been dug, oriented towards the northeast. The earth is heaped up along both sides. Two wooden grave-markers (*paesan*) are planted provisionally in the northwest heap. On arrival at the cemetery the white ribbons are untied and the coloured cloth removed from the corpse. One or two men descend with the body into the grave and lay it on its right side toward that edge of the pit facing the northwest i.e. Mecca. The idea is that when the Day of Judgement (*kiamat*) arrives and the deceased returns to life, his or her face will be directed towards the Kaaba (the sacred black stone of Mecca).

Then men stand each at one of the four corners taking the coloured cloth and waving it over the grave to fan the person (or people) in the grave who begins to pray. First a prayer is whispered, then the two calls to daily prayer usually called from the mosque (*ajan* and *kamat*) are spoken loudly. Again a silent prayer follows. Presently the bystanders hand down short, thick planks (*banusa*) which are put slantwise on top of the corpse to cover it completely. Sometimes one or two mats (*sabatan*) are laid over these planks. The people in the grave then come out and each of the bystanders helps to fill the grave with earth. Halfway through this process, the scoop made of fan-palm leaf used to wash the corpse, is thrown into the grave because one may not use it any longer. Finally with spades and hoes a heap of earth is made on top of the grave, and during silent prayer the two wooden gravemarkers are placed upon it, the large one where the head is and the short one somewhere above the feet.

The person who was praying in the grave now takes the white ribbon that held the coloured cloth around the corpse, and attaches it to the cleft in the top of the two grave-markers, making the ribbon hang between these objects. Next, someone else pours water from a bamboo tube around and over the grave to solidify the earth. The first man takes a bottle of water from a dish put near the grave and while he is praying silently he pours the water three times from the large to the short gravemarker, so that the soul may smell and feel the water. Some water is poured over the ribbon too. The time has come to read the *talkin* (*baca talakim*). A number of men sit down beside the grave facing Mecca, incense is burned and a prayer recited in which the Muslim confession is mentioned. The other onlookers go

home as soon as the reciting starts.

In the grave the soul of the deceased will be questioned, not by the two angels of death, as orthodox Islam maintains, but by his 'elder brother' or her 'elder sister', that is his/her placenta (*dodomin*).²² The prayer is to remind the deceased of this confession to help him answer successfully when questioned (applies to both men and women). If the deceased is not able to answer the question about his deeds, whether they were good, and about his Muslim beliefs, this 'sibling' will hit him with a flaming stick. But if he did live well, then the 'sibling' will lead him into the hereafter (*alam akhrat*).

Burial of the placenta

The placenta is believed to possess a human soul though it lacks the outward appearance of a human being. After childbirth, it has to be buried in the same manner as a human being, so it is washed like a deceased person, wrapped in a piece of white cotton and put into a half coconut shell. The whole is tied up with a white cotton ribbon and placed in a white bowl on a white plate, or in a small globe pot (*kulan*). A woman carries it outside, with a lamp. A cloth covers her head and the afterbirth, possibly like the body on a bier covered with cloths on its way to the grave. Outside men have dug a hole near one of the sides of the house (*um liksu*). The placenta is put in the 'grave', a prayer is read and the pit is filled. Next the woman returns to the house with the cloth over her head and sits down at the table leaning forward, pretending to sleep. To wake her up again, a young girl will call: 'Cock-a-doodle-doo! It's light already!'

After the burial of the placenta some people plant a *faiding* succulent on the grave together with the midribs of a coconut palm leaf (from which brooms are made) at the four corners. The succulent's coolness is thought to give health to the baby. At night a lamp burns near the grave for lighting the placenta (*hanalik dodomin*). This is done for forty days until the baby's ritual of the fortieth day, which implies that the burial of the placenta is primarily meant to strengthen the child's health.

The dina period

Every morning after the funeral a bottle of water is brought to the grave, and night after night, usually except the first night after the funeral, *ratib*, a form of collective Koranic recitation, takes place in the house of the deceased. I

²² The Tobelo also call the placenta (*o dodomi*) 'elder sibling'. It is buried in a more or less similar way, including the burning of the lamp (Hueting 1921-22, I:302).

was also told that during the *dina* a number of men are hired to recite, taking turns, the entire Koran during those seven nights.

During those nights people may only come to the house when invited. The men sit facing each other in a row on mats. In between, white tablecloths are laid on the floor. The recitation starts after *esa*, the daily ritual prayer at half past seven. Next, tea and cakes are served and conversation continues till late at night because it is a night-watch. The older people are supposed to speak about death. It is also an occasion for playing dominoes. During this night-watch sometimes certain games are played by the young which are taboo at other times: *bakece*, *putar leper* and *bisak kate-kate*.

To play *bakece* boys and girls sit down in a row facing each other. Somebody has to throw a handkerchief at the person who is suspected at that moment to be hiding a ring which is being passed along in secret. If so, then the winner presses the forefinger to the thumb and lets it spring onto the victims fingers, which is rather painful. *Putar leper* is Moluccan Malay for turning the spoon: a spoon is turned round till it stops and points at someone who then has to sing a 'song' (*pantun*). *Bisak kate-kate*, finally, is a marble game played with the use of a wooden block with two parallel rows of five holes, with a sixth hole at each end.²³

The funeral banquet

The funeral banquet (*jawada*) usually takes place during the seventh night. The number of participants is larger than during the previous nights (for example sixteen men). The guests give a *baleta* gift, the men at night and the women earlier, bringing food and assisting in preparing the meal.

Tea (or coffee) and cakes are sometimes served before the beginning of the recitation. Finely shredded *pundak* leaves are sprinkled on the white cloth spread on the floor between the men, and drinking-glasses are put down. The joint Koran recitation is rather solemn, taking almost a full hour. It is followed by recitations from a book by the prayer leader or others. Afterwards the prayer leader and a person of high status (for instance a *hadji*) sometimes begin to shake hands, followed by the other guests, to pass the blessing (*barakât*).

Now the feast table is laid with a long row of white and yellow rice mountains. Starting from the head of the table there is first white rice, then yellow, then white and so on. The order is opposite to all other rituals, where the row of rice mountains starts with a yellow one at the head. In this context the white colour symbolizes death, just like the white cloths at the funeral. Therefore at other rituals it is taboo to put the white rice in front,

²³ The game is extensively discussed in Teljeur 1990:160-4.

because of the implication of death. Some people even pay attention to the fishes on the saucers. In rituals for the living they make the heads point to the head of the table but, during funeral banquets, the tails are directed towards the head of the table.

In addition to this internal orientation of the feast table there is also an external orientation, pointing to a second contrast between the rituals concerning the living and those concerning the dead. During the death ritual the head of the table has to be set toward *kiblat*, the direction of Mecca, west-north-west in Indonesia. Because the deceased is facing Mecca in the grave, *kiblat* is associated with death and the orientation of the feast table implies a symbolic prayer in favour of the deceased. During a ritual for the living the head of the table must never be oriented toward Mecca, otherwise 'someone has to die soon'.

However, outside the house it is inconceivable to set the feast table in the direction of Mecca, because of its extraordinary length it can only run parallel to the village street which happens not to point towards Mecca. Therefore one chooses the direction that comes nearest. In Pulikin the streets go from northwest to southeast or, according to the local system of spatial orientation from above to below. Here northwest is nearest to *kiblat*. In Puliló the streets go from northeast to southwest that is, from the landside to the seaside, and there southwest is chosen for *kiblat*.

Indoors there is no possibility of pointing the head of the table toward Mecca because in both villages the house and likewise the feast table stands perpendicular to the street. Accordingly during all rituals the table points with its head to the front of the house which is traditionally turned toward the sea. In this case there is no danger of an unintentional demand for a death.²⁴

Subsequent rituals

Every night following the funeral banquet the recitation is continued by a small number of people, together with the carrying of a bottle of water to the grave. But in the morning after the eleventh night the deceased's relatives go to the graveyard to shake loose the heaviness (*atata batona*). Standing at the grave the women shake their hair loose. Each death has a cause, a heaviness which must be blocked or averted lest another family member should die from the same cause. By this act of shaking the hair loose one hopes to free oneself from it.

On the twelfth night the guests invited for the recitation run the risk of

²⁴ On a different level the placement of the guests at the feast table shows the social hierarchy of the village population, see Teljeur 1990:148-51, 182.

being blackened by the daughters of the house with a mixture of charcoal and coconut oil. The poor fellow who does not manage to escape is mercilessly smeared all over. This is called washing (*hasóp*).

From now on every night only one older man continues the recitation. The bottle of water is still carried to the grave every morning. Only after 44 days do these activities finally come to an end. Finally the grave is levelled, stones are set up around it and the gravemarkers are repositioned. The relatives should continually clean the grave and from time to time say a ritual prayer by it. In cases of negligence it is believed that the deceased might react by making someone ill: 'If the cause of an illness is not known, one first goes to someone for divination. Maybe the sick person has neglected the grave of a deceased family member and did not pray there. Then he may fall ill and the doctor is not able to cure that person unless the thing that remains to be done is disposed of by praying at the grave.'

The heap of earth on the grave is compared to a pregnant woman's belly, and the levelling to childbirth. The deceased has at that moment left this world and moved to the hereafter, which is a kind of birth. This is a different view from the one maintaining that the soul goes to the hereafter right after the *talkín* recitation following the funeral, though both views exist side by side and were once even expressed by one and the same person.

In the North Moluccas, at least among Muslims, the number 44 refers to the greatest possible number, all there is, a complete entity, even in daily speech. It was mentioned above that only the killing of no less than 44 house lizards constituted a meritorious work. And for children who die before their fortieth day a funeral banquet is held on the 44th day after birth. According to Matsuzawa (1980:380) Galela Muslims celebrate the first day since birth that an infant is taken outside the house on the 44th day, just like in Aceh where the number 44 is also used in many contexts (Snouck Hurgronje 1893-94, I:285, 423, 427). For the Gimán, however, this number reminds them too much about completion and death so that they celebrate the occasion on the fortieth day, in concordance with Muslim law.

Conclusion: Islam's influence on Gimán culture

The life-cycle rituals show a strong Muslim influence. With the possible exception of the teeth-filing ritual all rituals were introduced via Ternate, an Islamic state, by a variant of Islam that has been adapted to western Indonesian culture. The first hair-cutting, circumcision and (of course) the recitation of the Koran formed completely new elements, while in other cases already existing rituals were replaced by Islamic equivalents.

To show the relationship between aspects of Gimán culture that are not mentioned here and Islam, a brief conclusion is presented below (for more

details see Teljeur 1985; 1990).

Many pre-Islamic elements of Gimán culture have largely been replaced by Islamic ideas. Remaining characteristics are still distinguishable in common symbolic oppositions like landside/seaside, male/female, red/white. The social concepts and norms that were associated with these oppositions, however, have remained viable. The Gimán concept of a double soul (*nyawa*, soul and *gorumi*, shadow) is retained, but it is a clearly personal *nyawa* who enters the thoroughly Islamicized hereafter to account for one's beliefs and behaviour during life.

A considerable part of the spirit world is still considered to be active in spite of the incompatibility of this thought with Islamic thinking. There is a more or less secret cult of land and river spirits. The ancient village shrines are only partly converted into Muslim miracle graves. The Gimán strongly believe in gnomes (*suang*) and other kinds of invisible people (*moro*) living in the woods. Witches still haunt the imagination, and shamans perform their rituals outside the village. House-building and boat-building rituals display a mixture of Islamic and pre-Islamic elements.

Agricultural rituals are largely uninfluenced, though a Muslim variant has been added as an alternative to already existing Gimán rituals. Since the rainy seasons are quite unpredictable in this equatorial area, rice may in principle be planted throughout the year. Therefore, many people use the Muslim lunar year as an agricultural calendar so that the little rice they sow may be harvested before the fasting month. Hunting is restricted to deer (pigs being considered unclean, of course) and the keeping of goats is connected with Islam, as these animals are killed for ritual purposes.

On the other hand, the social organization of the Gimán is clearly in a process of transition. The Ternate-dominated politico-religious hierarchy of the past in which Islam played a major role, still influences people's thoughts about the social structure. In fact the kinship system, village organization and Islamic affairs are virtually unrelated nowadays. Gimán language has been enriched with many concepts of Muslim origin but integration is far from complete. When discussing subjects connected with Islam, and when preaching in the mosque, one always switches over to the Indonesian national language.

Thus, though in practice Islam has not been able to penetrate every aspect of the culture, very much of it has been influenced by a more or less orthodox Muslim interpretation. For the Gimán, Islam is clearly the central unifying referential system. Its theology and law, its daily ritual prayers, fasting month and yearly festivals dominate the lives of most of the people. And, as prosperity grows, so also grows the number of people who save their money to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

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VALERIO VALERI

'Our ancestors spoke little' Knowledge and social forms in Huaulu

*On knowledge and culture*¹

In everyday English 'knowledge' means many different things: acquaintance or familiarity with persons, places and subjects; competence in learned performances; possession of factual or logical/mathematical truths; that which is or may be known; the body or sum total of accumulated knowledge (see *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*; Scheffler 1965:1-2). In educational contexts, the term embraces both 'the accumulated skill and lore pertaining to technological control of the environment, and those intellectual arts and experiences whose value is intrinsic to themselves' (Scheffler 1965:1-2). The common denominator of these referents is that they are learned, but of course learning is not exclusive to knowledge. Habits and dispositions, for instance, are learned but are not said to be knowledge. Thus in everyday English usage, knowledge is conceived as a sub-class of what is learned. Moreover, since knowledge may be acquired through one's own efforts, and not just from others, it is a wider concept than 'tradition': it includes learning through direct experience and personal inference. On the other hand, it is more restricted than 'culture', which includes constitutive rules,² habits, acquired abilities, predispositions, emo-

¹ My field research in Seram in 1971-73, 1985, 1986 and 1988 was sponsored by the Indonesian Institute for Sciences (LIPI) and Unpatti (Ambon), and funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Social Sciences Research Council (SSRC), the Institute for Intercultural Studies and the Lichtstern Fund. To all these bodies I extend my gratitude. My greatest thank you goes to the Huaulu, who over these years have helped me, talked to me, and put up with me (no mean feat). A first version of the present paper was delivered as part of the panel on 'epistemological foundations of control and secrecy', American Anthropological Association Meeting, Washington, December 1985. It was subsequently delivered at the Leiden Conference on Halmahera and Beyond, and at the Universities of Bergen and Trondheim. I wish to thank all the people involved in these events for their patience in listening to me and for their suggestions. I also wish to thank the various people who over the years have requested copies of the 1985 version and have encouraged me to think that what I said there was of some interest.

² That is rules which generate what they describe through a correct performance. One needs to know them in order to perform correctly, but the performance is more than knowledge: it is the constitution of a cultural - sometimes institutional - reality (D'Andrade 1984).

tions, and more generally a whole 'mode of living' – all of which are not generally referred to as knowledge.

For the philosopher, knowledge in all its varieties divides into two forms: procedural and propositional knowledge or, as Ryle (1949) puts it, 'knowing how to' and 'knowing that'. Propositional knowledge implies a reference to 'truth'. As a language user, when I say: 'X knows that Q' (where Q stands for a sentence), I imply that I consider Q to be true. In other words, knowledge is defined as the holding of true beliefs. Of course, what is held to be true may change; but the fact remains that what I believe to be true at any particular time determines my use of the term 'knowledge'.

Usually, however, a stronger condition for granting the label 'knowledge' to a belief is required by many philosophers. The belief must not *happen* to be true: it must demonstrably be so. In other words, truth is not a sufficient condition: a belief must be based on sound evidence to count as knowledge. An example of true belief that does not count as knowledge is that of a man who 'having bought a ticket for a lottery, has an unshakeable conviction that he will win, and, being lucky, does win' (Russell 1948:155). His belief turns out to have been true, but it was so by luck, not because it was based on adequate evidence and inference. 'Knowing that' thus may have a 'weak' sense or a 'strong' sense: in the former case, the truth condition is sufficient to attribute knowledge; in the latter, the evidence condition is also required.

In sum, the philosopher's definition of propositional knowledge is as follows:

'X knows that Q
if and only if
(i) X believes that Q,
(ii) X has adequate evidence that Q,
and (iii) Q' (Schleffer 1965:21).

For an anthropologist, that is for somebody who uses his own language to describe – among other things – the linguistic usages of members of a culture different from his own, this view of propositional knowledge raises a number of problems. First of all, it is obvious to him that in order to identify propositional knowledge in another culture he cannot use his own beliefs of what constitutes truth and adequate evidence, but those that are current in that culture at a particular time. Otherwise, he would have to conclude that in most cases the users of that culture have little propositional knowledge, especially under the evidence condition. In other words, the anthropologist must make a cognitive leap from his idea of truth to the idea of truth of another culture. But here a second question arises. Granting that the leap is possible, it can only be considered legitimate if that culture shares with ours the idea of truth. Additionally, but not necessarily, it must have the idea of evidence. The contents of these ideas may be different, but the ideas them-

selves must exist to make it possible to say that propositional knowledge exists in that culture.

There is proof that relativism does not have to go so far as to admit the existence of human groups where no propositional knowledge exists. But here I will make the case for Huaulu culture alone. Not only has the Huaulu language expressions of the type 'X knows that Q' (*e manei amuni*, 'he knows that'), but there is evidence that these expressions are used only if Q is considered true. Furthermore, the language has a word for 'truth' (*mamanisa*), the idea of truth is an extremely important regulative ideal, and criteria of evidence are used to argue for the truth or untruth of propositions.

A third problem that the anthropologist may have with the philosopher's definition of knowledge concerns the applicability of the belief condition. Needham (1972) has argued that 'belief' is not a genuine comparative concept, because it is merely a reification of linguistic usages that exist in the English language and related languages. In other words, it is a mere *flatus vocis*. There are arguments for rejecting Needham's view, at least in the strong form that he has given to it (Valeri 1992). At any rate, I take here 'belief' in the sense of 'speaking subject's commitment to the truth of Q'. Such commitment is not a mysterious psychological state, but the conventional (that is accepted as a matter of course by both speaker and hearers) correlate of the use of a proposition.

Procedural knowledge, 'knowing how to', cannot be analysed like propositional knowledge, that is in terms of belief, truth and evidence. It must be analysed as performance: having a skill is not the same thing as knowing that a skill is this or that. Nor is it necessarily related to it: I do not need to have propositional knowledge about grammar before being able to speak a language correctly. Yet while knowing how to necessarily implies being able to, being able to does not necessarily imply knowing how to. For instance, I may be said to 'be able to' withstand pain without ever being said to 'know how to' withstand it. 'Knowing how to' seems relevant only to cases where *training* is at least minimally appropriate – that is, where repeated trial, or practice, is thought relevant to performance and where it is carried out under 'minimal conditions of understanding' (Scheffler 1965:93). This amounts to saying that there is an understanding which is non-propositional and which is found in the acquisition and perpetuation of effective performances. The point has been put very well by Ryle:

'To be intelligent is not merely to satisfy criteria, but to apply them; to regulate one's actions and not merely to be well-regulated. A person's performance is described as careful or skilful, if in his operations he is ready to correct and detect lapses, to repeat and improve upon successes, to profit from the examples of others and so forth. He applies criteria in performing critically, that is, in trying to get things right.

This point is commonly expressed in the vernacular by saying that an action exhibits intelligence, if, and only if, the agent is thinking what he is doing while he is doing it, and thinking what he is doing in such manner that he would not do the action so well if he were not thinking what he is doing.' (Ryle 1949:28-9.)

Therefore, Ryle contrasts intelligent performance, which involves understanding and is acquired by training (that is a process that requires 'tests and experiments'), with doing by 'pure or blind habit', that is 'automatically' and without having to mind' what one is doing (Ryle 1949:42). 'It is of the essence of merely habitual practices that one performance is a replica of its predecessors. It is of the essence of intelligent practices that one performance is modified by its predecessors. The agent is still learning' (Ryle 1949). This contrast is too rigid, however. Ryle disregards the fact that drill may be part of the process of acquiring know-how, and that some know-hows (typing, counting), which Scheffler calls facilities, may be rendered completely automatic, just like habit (Scheffler 1965:102-5). Nevertheless even such activities are learnt intelligently to some extent and intelligence can always be reactivated to improve them. This is precisely why they are put in the category of knowing how to and not in that of mere habit.

In sum, it would seem that to know that and to know how to may legitimately be put together in the category 'knowledge' because they have in common the use of intelligence. However intelligence manifests itself in different forms in procedural knowledge and in propositional knowledge. In the latter, it manifests itself as intellect, in the former, as an aspect of practice or as subservient to it. But ultimately one could argue that the two forms of intelligence have in common the ability to produce adequate images (merely of a performance, in one case; of whatever may be talked about, in the other) and thus to evaluate evidence and infer from it. In other words, the intelligent operations involved in procedural knowledge manifest properties that assume a strictly intellectual form in propositional knowledge. From this point of view one may say that the intellect already exists *in potentia* in intelligent action. But one may also say, conversely, that the difference between propositional knowledge and procedural knowledge is a difference between two kinds of intelligent action: verbal and non-verbal action. Indeed propositional knowledge is made possible by language and can thus be viewed as intelligent action of a linguistic kind.

At this point we must return to the relationship between knowledge and culture. As we have seen, 'culture' includes phenomena that may legitimately be called knowledge but also others that are not and cannot be so called. Moreover the notion of knowledge also includes propositions or procedures that have been discovered by individuals but which have not, or

not yet, become part of the collective patrimony that is culture,³ although they may be recognized as true or effective by their inventors and other users. The notion of knowledge is thus both inside culture (in that it covers only part of it) and outside it – or rather beyond it, since it identifies some of the forces (discovery and dissent) that may contribute to changing it. But knowledge is inside culture and beyond culture in a deeper sense as well. It is inside culture in that it cannot exist without some shared notions of what constitutes adequate performance or adequate evidence or truth. It is beyond culture in that it is not just an *instantiation* of traditional rules and values, but an *activity* capable of improvement and change through practical or intellectual criticism, experimentation or imitation. In this respect, knowledge is just like power, which is both objective and subjective, inherent in relations and thus independent of intention and will and contingent on intention and will.

Stressing the knowledge component of culture, therefore, implies going beyond current definitions of culture. Culture is usually defined as a 'shared system of symbols and meanings' (Schneider 1984:196) and thus in purely or predominantly communicative terms (D'Andrade 1984:114-6). The problem with this kind of definition is that, while emphasizing the conceptual or representational aspect of culture (at the expense, often, of other aspects that cannot be easily reduced to it), and thus, in a way, knowledge in its narrower propositional acceptance,⁴ it does not take it seriously enough. It treats the content of representation as arbitrary, as a matter of expression and invention, or as the result of a communicative logic, in which signs and their interpretations determine one another, but are not determined by their referents and by the acts of reference of which they are part. At the extreme, the Saussurian notion of *langue* as system of values is extended to culture as a whole. This implies that culture only exists to make communication possible. That cultures also claim to be knowledge, that is to include adequate cognitions and adequate performances, is thus ignored.

I propose that this claim must be taken seriously, not only because it is expressed, but because cultures cannot be explained or even described without reference to their users' experiencing of the world and acting on it. Thus by focusing on the knowledge content of culture (which includes recognizing knowledge's power to transcend what is culturally given), I hope to emphasize its intelligent aspect over its purely communicative (or expres-

³ The collective and traditional character of culture is emphasized by Geertz (1973) and Spiro (1984) in their definitions of the phenomenon.

⁴ The propositionalization of culture becomes particularly evident in Spiro, for whom 'culture' designates a cognitive system, that is, a set of "propositions", both descriptive [...] and normative' (Spiro 1984:323). But it is also implied by Schneider when he defines culture as representation of reality (Schneider 1976:206).

sive) one. I must stress that this in no way implies a resuscitation of the intellectualist view of culture. Quite the contrary, since I follow Ryle in viewing the intellect as only one particular manifestation of intelligence. The practical intelligence involved in performance is a much more important, if less well understood, manifestation. Furthermore, I have already argued that intelligence, even in its intellectual form, is itself a form of action.

I must also stress that in emphasizing the presence of intelligence as a knowledge-producing force, that is a force that strives for cognitive and performative adequacy, I am not taking advantage of the widening fissures in the concept of culture to introduce into it a naive form of epistemological empiricism. Rather, I am proposing to study knowledge as the unstable and varied result of the interaction of two intertwined processes: the experiencing of the world (including the social world) and its communication. Experiencing creates heterogeneity and is the main source of change, whereas communicating necessarily homogenizes experiences in order to make them commensurable to other experiences. Experience is thus the source of motivations external to culture, communication the source of motivations internal to it.

Naturally, experience itself does not happen in a communicative vacuum and does not precede it, except perhaps in the earliest stages of child development. The biological programme that certainly conditions experience and is the source of the sharedness that Horton (1982) calls 'first-order theory' does not exist in isolation from the sharedness of communicative conventions. Once cultural categories come into existence they interact with the biological ones in our cognition. It is therefore false to claim (as does for instance Bloch 1989:113) that the cultural categories isolated by cultural anthropologists are not cognitive at all, and to splice knowledge into biologically guaranteed 'truth' ('cognition') and ritually induced falsehood ('ideology'). Particularly in the 'essentially contested' domain of human society and history there is no cognition independent of cultural (or even 'ideological') values and presuppositions. Without them, we would only perceive physical forms, spatial relations, temporal successions, but not agents, meaningful actions, social relations, all of which require an awareness of guiding ideas which can ultimately only be obtained through communication (see my criticism of Bloch 1977 – a criticism that also applies to Bloch 1989 – in Valeri 1990b).

I would like to conclude by mentioning a further important consequence of using the notion of knowledge instead of the notion of culture as a system of symbols and meanings. Insofar as the latter includes knowledge, it attributes to it only the systemic, that is virtual, existence of a *langue*. In other words, it identifies it as a kind of grammar presupposed by all the

actual states of knowledge found in those who share that grammar. The notion of knowledge that I adopt here, in contrast, emphasizes actuality over virtuality: one does know that, or one does not; one does know how to, or one does not. Of course, these concrete states are to some extent the actualization of what exists virtually. But in other respects, they are not mere actualizations, as we have seen: the act of reference or the act of performance are always in some measure heterogeneous to what they are supposed to instantiate. At any rate, the notion of knowledge, contrary to the notion of culture, allows one to take this duality into account, and, moreover, to emphasize actuality over virtuality. For this reason, it raises all kinds of questions that are left out of the notion of culture as system: who knows what and who knows to do what, what are the reasons for these differences and what are their consequences. In a sense, while culture serves us well to focus on similarities, knowledge, just like power, serves us well to focus on differences. The two focuses are thus not so much rival as complementary.

My interest in these issues has been fed by a number of writers, anthropological and philosophical (Barth 1975, 1987; Bellman 1984; Borofsky 1987; Bourdieu 1980; Crick 1982; Fardon 1985; Foucault 1980; Habermas 1971; Harrison 1989; Lindstrom 1984), but especially by my own ethnographic experiences in Seram – and more specifically in Huaulu, since 1971. Indeed this society is an extremely fertile terrain for such questions. Among the many issues that could be treated, I have selected one that gives a fairly good idea of the degree to which internal differentiation of knowledge is recognized and even institutionalized in Huaulu. It is not only that in this society people know, or claim to know, different things; more primordial still is the fact that there are different recognized genres of knowledge.

While these genres all share certain presuppositions, patterns and even display certain structural invariants, they also differ widely. Their criteria of validity, for one, may be radically different and so are their criteria of use. The kinds of power with which they are associated may also vary considerably. Between the diversity of claims, interests, and competences, and the uniformity of shared presuppositions, there is thus a mediating term: genre. It is with this mediating term, with this case of institutionalized or semi-institutionalized diversity, that I am concerned in this paper. But my ultimate purpose is to show that knowledge is socially constitutive not only in being shared but also, and sometimes more importantly, in not being shared (see also Traube 1989). Furthermore, I suggest that culture should be studied less as a system of finished products to be 'decoded' than as a set of institutionalized processes of symbolic production. These processes are inseparable from the communicative and more generally practical contexts in which they occur. There is in fact, I argue, a definite relation between these

processes, their results, and the contexts in which they occur. Let me briefly flesh out these claims with some ethnography.

Huaulu polyglossia

A feature of Huaulu society that has important communicative and epistemic consequences is its small size. In 1988, during my fourth field trip among them, the Huaulu numbered only 168. They were even less (an average of 140) in 1971-73, when I first studied them. This population lives mostly by hunting, gathering, riverine fishing and the exploitation of sago and fruit trees in a densely forested territory of about 350 km². Horticulture only plays a minor role. There is one main settlement and several minor ones, but the population often scatters, each household or group of households living in separate houses on their lineage lands for shorter or longer periods during the year and sometimes over several years. This fragmentation of the population characterizes or characterized all of inland Central Seram, where Huaulu is situated, and contributes to explaining the extreme cultural and linguistic diversity of this area.

The Huaulu live on the borderline between two separate language families, which corresponds in part to the boundary between two regional political-territorial moieties. As their western neighbours, the Huaulu belong to the Five-moiety (Patalima), whereas their eastern neighbours belong to the Nine-moiety (Patasiwa, see Valeri 1989).⁵ Linguistically, however, the Huaulu speak a dialect of the language spoken by their eastern neighbours, who are also their traditional enemies. The other members of the Five-moiety, instead, speak several languages which differ among themselves and with the Huaulu language. The majority of Huaulu adults know several of these languages and dialects. In addition, they know the Sawai language, which is the lingua franca of the northern coast, and some Ambonese Malay. A few particularly gifted and well-travelled individuals speak up to six different languages. Thus a major fact about Huaulu is that it is a polyglot society.

Up to a point, it is possible to say that it is polyglot because it is too small to have an autonomous social life and must therefore interact with neighbouring peoples each of which speaks a different language or dialect. But more profoundly, polyglossia (a term which I use in Bakhtin's sense, see

⁵ Politically (in the narrow sense of the word) these territorial moieties are not important at present in Central Seram. But in Huaulu at least, they are frequently used to classify people and to determine the kind of attitude one should have vis-à-vis them. Furthermore, relations with the Lima that are in actual contact with Huaulu are activated in such occasions as the *kahua* feast and the bestowal of the ceremonial bark loincloth to boys (*i uheli*). This loincloth may be ritually bestowed in any of the Lima villages with which the Huaulu maintain social relations.

Bakhtin 1981:61) is the result of a tendency to produce internal differences by using differential knowledge of external cultural differences (for a somewhat similar case in Indonesia, see Atkinson 1984). Indeed, mastery of foreign languages is part and parcel of mastery of foreign cultural practices (mostly ritual) that give access to regional contexts of interaction but which have also become the ground for internal contexts of Huaulu society. These practices, and the knowledge which they require, coexist, however, with other and more valued ones which are considered as exclusively Huaulu and whose communicative use is exclusively internal to Huaulu society. Let us briefly consider, then, the main forms or genres of knowledge that exist in Huaulu, the values associated with them, the languages in which they are vested, the communicative networks in which they are used, and some of the powers which they constitute.⁶

Genres of knowledge and their linguistic correlates

The most valued knowledge is exclusively in the Huaulu language, as it should be, since it concerns Huaulu society alone and establishes its distinctiveness and (from the Huaulu point of view) its superiority in the region. It consists of all the traditions handed down by purely Huaulu ancestors. Since these are supposed to have been the first inhabitants of Seram, knowledge about them and derived from them is considered the most ancient and therefore the most taboo (*makuwoli*) and potent (*ia rahe karamati*) or effective (*moiya*, 'sharp'). This knowledge includes history in the widest sense, that is genealogies, myths and other narratives about crucial events that have created privileges for certain lineages or for Huaulu society as a whole. It also includes ritual knowledge such as chants, spells and medicines used in the highest ranking kind of shamanic ritual, the *Sewa potoam*, which is restricted to one single shaman in each of the lineages that have the right to perform it.

The chants of the *Sewa potoam* are performed in public, but are often simply muttered; moreover they are in an obscure, supposedly archaic language: thus they are understood only by a few initiates. As for the 'historical' narratives (*aitetukiniem*), which are in the ordinary language with a few archaic or formulaic expressions, they are kept secret from all outsiders and are handed down only parsimoniously from seniors to juniors, because giving them means losing the power that goes with their possession. Moreover secrecy endows that knowledge with an aura of mystery that increases its value and may even serve as a psychological

⁶ For another illustration of these relationships and more generally of the relationship of poetic form and political form, see Valeri 1990b.

validation of its truth (see Luhrman 1989). In sum, the value of this knowledge derives both from its intrinsic obscurity (itself a testimonial of its derivation from the distant past) and from its scarcity.

A less valued kind of knowledge consists of non-sacred or less sacred tales whose protagonists are not considered as real historical persons and who are situated, not so much in the past, as in a sort of mythical non-time. Knowledge of these tales (called *romuromuem*) is not restricted and it is recognized that they circulate well beyond Huaulu. (Indeed they may be narrated in the presence of non-Huaulu.) A correlate of this is that they do not have a specifically Huaulu content, but refer to a kind of 'average' traditional society, which is sufficiently generic to allow different groups to recognize themselves in it. Furthermore, there is a special class of tales (*romumromu laufaha*) which are said to have been borrowed from coastal Muslims and are set in a Muslim cultural environment (as understood in Huaulu). Usually *romuromuem* are told in the Huaulu language but may contain linguistic markers (for example reported speech, proper names, place names) of their locale. However, they are often told in other languages as well, particularly humorous tales which cannot easily be translated because they use word-play.

A third kind of knowledge (also non-secret, but very difficult to learn because of its complexity) consists of chants connected with headhunting rituals and with the *Kahua* feast that was traditionally associated with those rituals but is now independently celebrated on various occasions (such as initiations of boys, construction or repairing of the community house, installation into an office). All of these chants are in archaic and poetic forms of the languages of Huaulu's western neighbours, the members of the Five-moiety (Valeri 1989). The most consistently represented language is that of Openg (a people that has very close contacts with Huaulu, and from whom the *Kahua* in its present form is said to have been borrowed at least five generations ago), but there are many chants in the Nuaulu, Ruma Olat, Masi-sifulale and Sawai languages. Some Huaulu still compose chants of their own in these languages. Few people, however, understand the highly allusive chants, some of which are said to be very ancient, although several individuals know at least their subject-matter and are aware of the fact that they often play on analogies between chasing women and hunting heads. All the same, the semantic component remains in the background, and the musical and formal ones play the greatest role in the appreciation of the chants.

This retreat of the semantic dimension is partly linked to secrecy (the headhunter or lover does not openly divulge his exploits for fear of retribution), partly to the fact that the circulation of these chants among members of the Five-moiety is the important communicative fact about them: they do

not convey specific messages, but the basic message that Huaulu is historically and socially connected with certain peoples considered as either its 'brothers' or its 'children' (that is as equals or subordinates). Furthermore, the bracketing of the semantic content in ritual communication is here highly appropriate since it obliterates the differences and conflicts (often reflected by the content of the chants) existing between the Huaulu and the other Lima whose chants the Huaulu use.

While the *Kahua* chants are in the languages of Huaulu allies in the Five-moiety, the chants used in the two most popular varieties of shamanism, the *Sewa pukariam* and the *Sewa ninawaniam*, are in dialects spoken by Huaulu's traditional enemies in the Nine-moiety. This is due to the fact that they have been learnt from them along with the corresponding shamanic practices, and more importantly to the fact that the shamans' spirit familiars live in enemy territory and are themselves, in a sense, like those enemies. Because, as I have mentioned, these enemies speak a language closely related to the Huaulu language, these varieties of shamanism (contrary to the *Sewa potoam* variety) constitute a communicative and more generally social context in which Huaulu's opposition to the Nine-moiety is potentially neutralized. Indeed, shamans and patients from the Nine-moiety may participate in performances together with Huaulu shamans and patients. They sometimes congregate for several nights of dancing, chanting and curing.

But more important than this actual transcendence of a social opposition is the ritual exploitation of the intermediate communicative status given to the spirits by their language. For this language is both foreign and partially intelligible, both familiar and unfamiliar. It thus provides a template for the spirits' mediating position between the Huaulu and the hostile forces that induce misfortune. As their origin myths show, the spirits were originally antagonists later transformed into friends by some shamans. They are able to cure precisely because of their double affiliation and more importantly because they provide a condensed image of the shamanic power to turn evil against itself. Although I cannot go further into detail here, what I have said suffices perhaps to suggest that even in the *Sewa pukariam* and the *Sewa ninawaniam* (the fourth genre of knowledge considered here) content, communicative medium and communicative network interact to produce specific powers.

'Central' and 'peripheral' knowledge

In the preceding section, I have briefly enumerated the most important kinds of knowledge recognized in Huaulu, using the language in which they are vested as the main criterion of their differentiation. The result is a

rather rudimentary classification, which should be complicated and refined by introducing supplementary parameters. Here, I wish only to discuss briefly the most obvious of these parameters: a centre/periphery polarity. Its most conspicuous manifestation is the contrast between the mythical knowledge about the Huaulu founding past and the knowledge implied by all varieties of shamanism that are not the *Sewa potoam* – particularly by the *Sewa pukariam* variety. The reason I concentrate on this contrast is its importance in structuring Huaulu social action and the fact that it illustrates the polarity of knowing that (emphasized in mythical knowledge) and knowing how to (emphasized in shamanic knowledge).

The pertinence of this centre/periphery contrast should be immediately apparent from the fact that only what I call 'central' knowledges are purely in the Huaulu language: most other knowledges, as I mentioned, are in foreign languages, of either friend or enemy. *Sewa pukariam* and *Sewa ninawaniam* shamanism is the most peripheral form in that it uses the language of Huaulu's hereditary enemies. I should add that this language is reserved for the *sapasinaem*, that is the couplets used in chanting; but when shamans are in trance, they talk 'in prose' and may then use, beside the language of the eastern enemies, whatever expression in whatever language they happen to know. This glossolalia is usually limited to humorous contexts, however. Let me discuss some fundamental epistemic and sociological (particularly with regard to power) correlates of this centre/periphery opposition.

Knowledges that belong to opposite poles constitute or sustain social differentiation by opposite means. As we have seen, the communication of 'central' knowledge is restricted. It is thus used to define and sustain structural oppositions: between Huaulu and non-Huaulu, between senior and junior, and between lineages (since much of this knowledge is lineage-owned). True, these restrictions are often more apparent than real, since many people know what they are not supposed to know. But the idea that knowledge always has an owner, who is differentiated and qualified by its possession, is sustained by the rule that he is the only one who can officially and legitimately transfer it (otherwise it has no efficacy). More than positive knowledge, then, it is the exclusion from knowledge by this rule that creates differentiation.

The opposite happens with the 'peripheral' knowledge of the shaman (and, to some extent, of the storyteller and of the *Kahua* chanter). Here differentiation is achieved by an individual's uncommon mastery and further elaboration of a common, unrestricted patrimony; it is achieved by adding, not by subtracting; by showing off, not by concealing. This also explains why all 'peripheral' knowledge – and that of the shaman in particular – is extremely elaborate and to some extent innovative, whereas

central knowledge is, from the points of view of content and form, impoverished by its restricted communication. Indeed, with the exception of a highly elaborate origin myth which concerns all Huauilu (and thus circulates more widely than lineage myths), 'central' knowledge consists of just-so stories, names of individuals and places, fixed formulas, etc. Peripheral knowledge is instead enriched by its unrestricted circulation well beyond the limits of Huauilu society: it reflects the complexity of a larger, multicultural world.

But the contrast is not only due to the extent and rate of circulation. It also follows from two opposite criteria of validity. 'Central' knowledge concerns a mythical age which is real but beyond the reach of present experience. The only connection that exists with it is through tradition, which is supposed to originate from an ancestor who witnessed the events reported or who was, even, their author. The truth of a story or of any other piece of knowledge thus depends on its faithful transmission. Any change or embellishment would make it less true. The conditions of truth for mythical tradition thus make it officially untouchable and discourage elaboration. Furthermore, the parsimoniousness with which the tradition is handed down produces losses, as the Huauilu constantly note. The truth of shamanic practices such as the *Sewa pukariam* and *Sewa ninawaniam*, in contrast, depends less on tradition and more on experience (or, as the Huauilu put it, less on hearing (*ita hulai*) than on seeing (*ita oi*). Not only is the shaman present-oriented (since he must treat present misfortunes), but he can 'see', directly experience, the forces that have shaped the present: evil and good spirits, sorcerers, witches.⁷ Through dreams, he can acquire new knowledge or retrieve lost knowledge (although the same applies to a lesser extent to other forms of knowledge). Thus the truth of the shaman's knowledge rests on his expanded ability to experience the present, not on the monopoly of an indirect connection with a past that cannot be experienced. Furthermore, the truth of his knowledge is constantly proven or disproven by its efficacy or inefficacy – by whether he has been able to cure or not.

In contrast, the truth of the tradition cannot be proven empirically, since it refers to a mythical past which worked quite differently from the present and which is inaccessible to experience. Nevertheless the main criterion of value is not epistemic certainty but the ontological status of what knowledge refers to. Thus the avowedly uncertain knowledge of the past is more important than the more certain knowledge of the present because the past

⁷ Note that, in contrast, the shaman's direct vision plays a much lesser role in the central cult of the *Sewa potoam*. For instance, the *Sewa potoam* shaman – unlike his colleagues in the other varieties of shamanism – is unable to see if a soul has returned into the body or not.

is superior to the present. Moreover, elaboration is not considered to be more valuable than simplicity. Indeed the Huaulu contradict certain anthropological generalizations (Parkin 1982:xlvi), by asserting that the simplicity of the 'central' knowledge is proof of its superior power, since it echoes the main property of its referent: the fact that in the mythical past actions and words were more powerful, and so needed not be as numerous, as those of the present. 'Our ancestors spoke little: one or two words – that was enough', say the Huaulu. The wordiness and richness of the peripheral knowledges betray the ultimate powerlessness of more recent times, of the inability of knowledge derived from experience to make sense of the basic structure of experience itself.

Furthermore, peripheral knowledge reflects, in its very multilingualism, an aspect of the problematic nature of the present: its fragmentation into many different interests and values, the difficulty of communicating and agreeing in the larger social world in which the Huaulu must live. This Babelic discordance of the present is contrasted in myth with the monolingualism of the past, when only Huaulu allegedly existed in Seram. Yet shamanism is there to transform discordance into creative polyphony and thus to assert Huaulu identity in its own way. There is here, I believe, something like the Bakhtinian contrast between the multivocality (indeed multilingualism) of the novelistic discourse, which is oriented towards the present, and the monolingualism of the epic discourse, oriented towards a past which is conceived as 'all of a piece' and thus radically different from the present (Bakhtin 1981:47-51). Moreover, in Huaulu too, monoglossia correlates with seriousness, even tragedy, whereas polyglossia correlates with laughter: the *Sewa pukariam* and *Sewa ninawaniam* are also comic performances where shamans, beside chanting, humorously and absurdly combine all the discourses, all the languages they know, perhaps to express the absurdity of the present, but ultimately to make it acceptable and liveable.

Conclusion

Although very brief, my account of the genres of Huaulu knowledge and of their relations suffices, perhaps, to indicate the fruitfulness of the approach that I have advocated at the beginning of this paper. There is a considerable amount of diversity in Huaulu knowledge, to such extent that much of it is not even purely Huaulu and is not spoken in the Huaulu language. True, the peoples from whom the Huaulu have borrowed many of their knowledge genres seem to share with them certain basic cultural ideas. Nevertheless, the heterogeneity of Huaulu knowledge should not be underestimated: to some extent, the Huaulu seem to live in different cognitive

and communicative worlds, coexisting not so much because they are all structural transformations of each other, as because they are known by the same mind. In other words, the integration of these different worlds varies from individual to individual mind, and cannot be viewed simply as the effect of a cultural supercode (a 'system of systems') shared by all Huaulu.

The existence of this individual integration explains the instability and creativity that characterize peripheral knowledge in particular, but which is evident even in sectors, such as the origin myths, that are unchanging according to Huaulu ideology. I have become aware of their changes and variations by studying them over a period of almost twenty years. This underscores another point. The concordant and fixed image of culture produced by anthropological practice is to some extent a function of the limitations of fieldwork (see Thomas 1989). Anthropologists generalize from a limited experience in a limited time and reify it by detemporalizing and more generally decontextualizing it. Thus one or a few informants' (interested) view of things at a certain time become the Culture, the System. Let me make clear that I am not against identifying systematic relationships, and that I believe in the existence of basic, recurrent patterns and even structural relationships in Huaulu culture. But the analysis of invariance is impossible without the analysis of diversity. Otherwise anthropology becomes unable to explain history, or condemns itself to reducing it to pathetic history: history as the unwanted result of external influence, history as mere loss and ultimately as collapse. This unwittingly reproduces a form of Eurocentrism (see Wolf 1982): the condemning of supposedly 'cold' societies to passivity vis-à-vis the supposedly 'hot' West.

The facts that I have mentioned also suggest that invariant form should not be looked for only at the semantic level. More important than the statements made is *where* they are made: in what communicative context and thus in what genre (Valeri 1990b). In many of the Huaulu genres, as we have seen, the semantic aspect of meaning is less important than the pragmatic one. To sing the *kahua* songs does not require understanding what they are about, but only their indexical reference to the voice that sings it. This voice is a Lima voice, a voice whose individuality is erased by its utterance of a distinctly Lima formulaic language. The cultural invariants reproduced by chanting, then, are on the one hand the opposition of Siwa and Lima, and on the other hand the depersonalization of voice into category. This is made possible by the loss of semantic meaning. Thus it would be a distortion to look for such meaning where it has disappeared for sound cultural reasons. This example shows that history and structure can be made to converge in analytic practice: a structural explanation may also be the explanation of an historical fact (the loss of semantic meaning).

More generally, it is clear that the classification of genres is more invar-

iant than its (and their) content. This invariance is the main mode of existence of hierarchy, but also of the conflict between hierarchical and anti-hierarchical ideas and practices that characterize Huaulu, as I have tried to show elsewhere (Valeri 1990a). Indeed, it is the distribution of knowledge and of knowledge genres that indicates (and thereby sustains and often performatively creates) the position of each person or even group in the hierarchy and vis-à-vis the hierarchy. To voice a certain kind of knowledge is thus a truer indication of what one is than what one says. Anthropological analysis must thus be prepared to go beyond semantics in order to identify the full range of significant cultural forms. It must also go beyond a vague notion of culture as a self-referential system of symbols to identify the activities – at the intersection of knowledge and power – that explain the historicity of social life.

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E.K.M. MASINAMBOW

The Halmahera Research Project and regional development

Introduction

The organizers of this Workshop asked me to focus this paper on the meaning of the research activities in Halmahera from a policy perspective. How is research such as that carried out in Halmahera, and later in the Raja Ampat Islands and the Bird's Head area in Irian Jaya, viewed from the national perspective, and how is international participation in research in general viewed from a national policy perspective?

It is appropriate here to review what the activities under the Halmahera Research Project have accomplished, because this Workshop is the final event of the project. However, it seems rather superfluous to discuss in detail what advances in knowledge of the area have been achieved since the Project's inception in 1977, since many of the papers presented at this Workshop are themselves formulations of such advances.¹ Instead, let me first of all consider to what extent the implementation of the Halmahera Research Project has been faithful to its original design and objectives.

The Halmahera Research Project

The Project was initiated with two main purposes:

'(a) to carry out field studies on the peoples and cultures of Halmahera and adjacent islands so as to yield scholarly publications which in the long run would exercise a positive impact on the development program of the area, and (b) to serve as a means to acquire field experience under competent guidance for young Indonesian graduates' (*Dutch-Indonesian cooperation* 1977:79).

The primary purpose was to acquire basic knowledge of an area on which nothing had been written since the end of the Second World War, and secondly to see how regional development might benefit from such knowledge. At the same time it was expected that participation in the Project would enhance the scientific skills and knowledge of the researchers

¹ See also the List of Seminar Papers at the end of this volume.

involved – the Project thus had a training function as well.

The choice of Halmahera, as an area on which there was almost no up-to-date information, would have been equally valid for other areas in Indonesia. As a matter of fact, the Minahasa, North Sulawesi, was considered as an alternative. There were no compelling theoretical reasons for the choice of Halmahera², except for the fact that there was a coordinator available who was interested in the area.

At the Project's inception the dominant idea was that research activities should fill existing gaps of knowledge, and to improve the knowledge gained from pre-war studies, which were judged not to be up to standard in terms of present-day theoretical insights. For this reason the choice of research topics was more or less determined by the individual interests and viewpoint of the researcher concerned, as long as it related to Halmahera and, later, the Raja Ampat Islands and the Bird's Head. Nevertheless, certain important topics were defined by the Project. These were formulated on the basis of views held by expected Indonesian participants and their Dutch counterparts, as well as the relevant research institutions. Other topics were later added to the Project in the course of its implementation.

The topics can be distinguished as a. intracultural studies, b. transcultural studies, and c. bibliographic and audiovisual documentation.

a. Intracultural studies are those focusing on particular ethnolinguistic groups and particular themes or problems, namely:

1. Ternate: Sociopolitical system, Van Fraassen (1987)
2. Tidore: Descent system, Baker (1988)
3. Tobelo: 3.1. Ethnobiology, Taylor (1980)
3.2. Historical role as seafarers, Lapian (1983)
3.3. Ideas and values, Platenkamp (1988)
4. Gimán/Gane: Symbolic system, Teljeur (1985)
5. Tugutil: Ethnography, Martodirdjo (1991)
6. Sawai: Ethnography, no research materialized.
7. Makian: Population mobility, Lucardie (1983).

b. Transcultural studies are thematic studies involving more than one culture or ethnolinguistic group, such as:

8. Ethnolinguistic subgrouping: A survey of ethnolinguistic groups in Halmahera to determine their geographical distribution and linguistic position; Voorhoeve (1983b) has made such a study on North Halmahera; and Grimes and Grimes (in press) wrote on the languages of the North Moluccas and Central Halmahera.

² In 1975-1976 two Australian anthropologists visited the area to explore its research possibilities. Their conclusion was that Halmahera, from their point of view, did not offer any interesting possibilities for research (Alexander and Young 1976).

9. Customary law in Halmahera: The study and codification of customary law of selected ethnolinguistic groups in North and South Halmahera, focusing on laws pertaining to social organization, inheritance and land titles. No research was implemented.

10. Shifting cultivation: Social, anthropological and agricultural aspects of shifting cultivation. Studies under this theme aimed to provide a more reliable basis for the agrarian policies of the provincial government. Research was carried out on agricultural aspects of Sahu society by Visser (1984).

11. Shamanism: To study shamanism as found among the Islamized, Christianized and other societies of Halmahera. Preliminary research was carried out by Koagouw (1983) on Modole, but no follow-up studies materialized.

12. Bilingualism and biculturalism: To study the relationship between linguistic loyalty and ethnic identity and its consequences on linguistic and cultural change in mixed ethnolinguistic communities of Central Halmahera. There were plans to carry out studies on language contact and language history, but no research on either theme materialized.

With the exception of the linguistic survey by Voorhoeve, and apart from the preliminary study in Modole by Koagouw, research under this category was actually carried out in one ethnolinguistic group only, the Sahu by Visser.

c. Bibliographic, archival and audiovisual documentation: The objectives of these activities were threefold: 1. collection and publication of historical sources of the Northern Moluccas, 2. translation and publication of sixteenth-century Portuguese sources and 3. audiovisual documentation of cultural expression by attending various life-cycle rituals of selected ethnolinguistic groups. The documentation of historical sources of the Northern Moluccas as found in national archives never materialized. A very useful and almost exhaustive annotated bibliography on the Northern Moluccas was compiled by Polman (1981). None of the sixteenth-century Portuguese sources has been translated, but annotated lists of some of those sources have been published by the late Paramita Abdurrachman (1983). Audiovisual documentation has been more successful with the production of the films *Tobelo Marriage* (Nijland 1985),³ and *Sahu Harvest Festival* (Jouwersma 1985). In conjunction with the production of these films feedback research was conducted in 1988. With regard to the film *Tobelo Marriage*, the research was used by Dirk Nijland as the basis for his Ph.D. thesis (Nijland 1989).⁴

It is obvious that the best results of the Halmahera Project have been

³ This film received the first prize 'Prix Nanook' in 1987 at the Sixième Bilan du Film Ethnographique, sponsored by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

⁴ See also Nijland, this volume.

achieved by studies concentrated on one ethnolinguistic group, where a tremendous leap has been accomplished with regard to knowledge of the society studied compared to what was known prior to the Project. In the meantime, as a result of the existence of this Project, Indonesian scholars have been stimulated to start new projects. Thus Leirissa (1990) wrote a Ph.D. thesis on the history of Halmahera society. Research on Tidore is now in progress (Frojen, Praboyo) while a study on the Maba people of Central Halmahera is under consideration.

Probably these subsequent activities were not so much the response to problems, disagreements or perceived inaccuracies in the results of the Halmahera Research Project, as a response to new research opportunities. The general question that should now be asked is whether the achievements of the project are relevant for the development of the area.

The relevance of the Project

The objective of the Halmahera Project was, besides the increase of scientific knowledge on the peoples and cultures of Halmahera, to contribute also to the development of the area. This was explicitly stated in the Project proposal concerning the ethnography of the Tugutil (item no. 5), customary law (item no. 9), and shifting cultivation (item no. 10). The other studies did not explicitly relate their objectives to a specific policy improvement or practical problems, but their outputs may be used for such purposes whenever needed. This has generally been the case with social science research in Indonesia, the results of which tend to be dismissed and not used for future reference, thus becoming mere bookshelf fillers.

The problem of relevance has become a critical one since funds for research projects in the social sciences and humanities tend to be made available on the basis of their relevance to government policies such as the improvement of public welfare, the increase of popular participation in the development process, national integration and social stability; or the improvement of implementation of development programmes at the grass-roots level. Basic scientific problems, however, that can be shown to be related to the success or failure of development programmes are not automatically ignored. It is, therefore, important clearly to define what exactly the relevance of a particular research project is, including those concerned with basic scientific problems that are of primary importance to the discipline concerned.⁵

⁵ One of the functions of the Indonesian Institute for Sciences (LIPI) is to carry out 'mission-oriented research', meaning long-term basic, as well as applied, research oriented on problems that are faced by the nation as a whole.

There are various degrees of relevance in terms of practical application. At one extreme, relevance has to do with the fact that research yields improvement in scientific knowledge without any concern for their practical application. At the other extreme, the research itself is part of the process of improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the implementation of development programmes. Between these two extremes there are research activities explicitly oriented to policy problems, such as the question of how popular participation can be increased. They may or may not include explicit recommendations to be accepted or refused by the political authority or implementing agency.⁶

If we believe that scientific knowledge is in itself a function of societal improvement, then such knowledge remains accessible to or shared by a small group of academics, scholars and interested laymen only; it may lay dormant for some time until practical exigencies create the need for its utilization. However, if scientific knowledge is to be oriented to problems of policy and of policy implementation, then the area or interface between the knowledge of a culture and the application of such knowledge for practical purposes requires serious attention, not only to make social science research directly relevant to the socio-cultural environment in which it operates, but also to raise basic methodological questions about the very problem of application itself.

In this respect there are both successes and failures in the implementation and results of the Halmahera Research Project. The successes have been summarized briefly. The failures should be seen in terms of the second clause of the first objective of the Project, that is, whether regional development has benefited from the tremendous increase of knowledge as a result of the Project's research activities.

There is a growing awareness and appreciation that regional development programmes should proceed in line with the cultural orientations of the target population. Such an approach is believed to be effective, and the changes brought about more durable. Many programmes failed, or only worked for a short time simply because the cultural dimension had not been sufficiently taken into consideration.

With regard to Halmahera we already have a thorough knowledge of the cultures of Tobelo, Sahu and Gimán (Gane) which enables us to explain the underlying motivations of their behavioural patterns. There is, therefore, a good basis on which to formulate recommendations or advise anyone who wishes to implement a programme on, for example, health improvement among the Tobelorese, improvement of the agricultural yield in Sahu, or

⁶ This may seem anathema to scholars who are brought up in a liberal traditional environment where the pursuit of knowledge was seen as an end in itself.

village housing improvements among the Gimán. Such programmes should have of fair chance of succeeding if knowledge of the culture of the respective peoples has been incorporated effectively so that the recommended improvements are in harmony with the people's cultural expectations and orientations. But precisely how such recommendations should effectively be translated into action has seldom been subjected to serious study.

This gap accounts for the many cases where development programmes failed or produced results that did not meet expectations, even in those cases where careful consideration had been given to the socio-cultural implications of the recommendations. There is obviously a problem of implementation where theoretical expectations do not quite match the practical feasibility. The social science research literature is frequently of little help, since it is dominated by analyses and descriptions of aspects of socio-cultural life according to certain theoretical perspectives. However, these analyses still need to be elaborated in order to be applied effectively to the development problems at hand. How the people should utilize their cultural resources to cope with a rapidly changing environment is very much left to the vagaries of chance and wishful thinking. All this means that, if one speaks of regional development, the contribution of social science research should not stop at providing a set of recommendations only, but should develop further studies on how such recommendations should be carried out in practice.

Research, policy and social learning

The argument developed in the preceding sections boils down to the assertion that for social science research to be effective in regional development, it has to relate to and to interact with the agencies responsible for the implementation of development programmes. In terms of personnel it means that the relationship involves three groups of people, 1. the implementing staff, 2. the target population, and 3. the researchers who may act as trainers for the implementation during the early stage of the process, or as a consultant at a later stage of the process (Korten 1986:16-7). We touch here upon the second objective of the Halmahera Project, namely to train young Indonesian university graduates to achieve higher levels of expertise, who may in turn assist the local government in the development of the area. This aspect of the Halmahera Project was the least successful. Until today – more than a decade later – there is still an absence of a sizeable pool of knowledgeable experts on Halmahera who are able to develop research programmes and implementation measures directly geared to the improvement of the socio-cultural conditions of the peoples of the region.

A promising approach most directly related to the concern of regional development is one that has already been applied in the Philippines in the early 1970s, and more recently in Indonesia itself. This approach distinguishes two kinds of policy in the so-called policy arena and two kinds of research perspectives. In the policy arena a difference should be made between macro-policy and micro-policy.⁷

The macro-policy arena covers problems calling for a single decision which can be accomplished by a 'single stroke of the pen' by the appropriate political or administrative authority. These decisions are ones for which major questions of implementation do not exist – whether because implementation is not inherently key to the decisions or because methods of implementation are already well known. 'Do or don't' questions and 'how much' questions are of this type (Korten 1986:3).

The micro-policy arena, however,

'[...] focuses on the "how" question – how a program should be carried out at the field level and how an agency's capacity can be developed for implementing it effectively. These are issues which cannot simply be mandated by a central authority.' (Korten 1986:3)

The research perspectives are divided into a policy analysis perspective and a social-learning perspective. The first 'is based on the assumption that there is some kind of single, powerful, and rational decision maker who, if provided high quality information and analysis will respond with appropriate decisions' automatically setting off 'a chain of events which will remedy the problem under analysis'. The second perspective implies that 'issues of what is to be done cannot be separated from how it is carried out. Planning and implementation blend in interactive sequences, the what and the how are inextricably linked.' (Korten 1986:5.)

Thus, macro-policy matches with policy analysis, while micro-policy matches with social learning. Mismatch between them would result in the lack of effectiveness of social science research on the decision-making process. The relevance and effectiveness of research, then, depend on the link the kind of research problem has with the kind of policy arena. The knowledge and insight that are produced by research oriented on macro-policy issues would be communicated to the political or administrative authority, as appropriate recommendations to be adopted or rejected in the decision-making process. The researcher remains outside the decision-making process, and the research report is considered to be a valuable addition to the literature on the subject and to the body of scientific know-

⁷ The distinction is made by David C. Korten, 'Micro-policy reform; The role of private voluntary development agencies,' NASPAA Working Paper, Washington, 1986 (quoted by F.F. Korten 1986).

ledge kept as a resource for the future – even if the policy recommendations derived from it have been ignored or have not been accepted.

On the other hand, the knowledge and insight produced by research on micro-policy issues are the end products of a process in which research and the application of its results constantly interact until an optimum stage has been reached in which practical efficacy and its theoretical or conceptual underpinning are in balance. This means that the written output of the research is a record or documentation of the changes brought about by the programme as intended by the objectives of the macro-policy. Such changes would, for instance, be the enhancement of institutional capacity, improvement in the quality of implementing personnel and increased participation of the target population.⁸ In other words, through the social-learning process the capacity of the people to cope with the changing environment has been enhanced, and the conditions created for future and sustained development have been strengthened.

Conclusion

In the above sections I have tried to place the Halmahera Research Project in the context of problems faced by research in the social sciences and humanities with regard to its role in the development of Indonesian society. In this context the research recently carried out showed a predominant concern with the advancement of anthropological knowledge of the area. This appears to be its main contribution. However, research in the Raja Ampat and the Bird's Head already tends to be more oriented to socio-economic concerns and is, therefore, closer to development problems of the area.

Research in the latter two areas was an idea that came up during the seminar held at Ternate in 1979, because of the close historical links with Halmahera. Except the seminar held at Jakarta in 1981, the subsequent seminars at Ambon (1984), Manado (1985) and Jayapura (1988), all received the full support of the provincial government.

The government's interest in the seminars originated from the belief that scientific research could effectively solve many development problems. Consequently, some of the topics of discussion concerned problems that were of immediate relevance to the development of the region. Whether research on these topics has influenced the way development problems are solved is a matter for further study. It is clear, however, that with such an

⁸ According to Korten (1986:3) what I have called institutional capacity includes responsiveness to 'the needs of local peoples', meaning amongst other things effectiveness of the evaluation, monitoring and incentive systems. But all these only work if skills, attitudes and assumptions of the implementing personnel are adequate to sustain the development process.

involvement of local governments, social science research is directly confronted with problems emerging from the execution of development programmes at the grassroots level. The approach most suitable at this level is the social-learning approach, in which both the implementing agency and the target population interact side-by-side with the researcher in an on-going process of implementational and conceptual adjustment. In such a contextual arrangement the research findings can be utilized to support development rather than remaining idle on bookshelves.

The fact that discussions during each of the seminars were partly devoted to the development problems of the province involved also had the consequence that the topics discussed covered an expanding geographical area of Eastern Indonesia. Thus, the additional geographical area covered at the Ambon meeting was Tanimbar; at the Manado meeting, besides North Sulawesi (Minahasa), the Kei Islands; and at the Jayapura meeting, areas in Irian Jaya outside the Raja Ampat Islands and the Bird's Head were included. Reports were also discussed on rural community development in East Nusatenggara, Southeast Central Sulawesi; together covering almost all of Eastern Indonesia. Thus the Halmahera Research has been put in the context of Eastern Indonesia.

The Halmahera Research Project and its associated seminars undoubtedly succeeded in initiating and sustaining an international discussion on various aspects of the societies and cultures of the area. It is also clear that without the contribution of expatriate researchers the rapid advance of knowledge of the area would not have happened. However, there is a feeling that their participation was less successful in terms of institutional development and improvement in quality of the Indonesian research staff. This was probably due to the fact that at that time nobody had any clear conception of how to go about counterpart co-operation.

In my opinion, the primary role of expatriate researchers is to carry out basic social science research for the advancement of knowledge that may constitute the basis for more applied or policy-oriented research. If the researcher wants to make a more direct contribution, the choice of his research topic should as far as possible be part of the research programme of the sponsoring institution, thus becoming a factor in the development of that institution. The ideal form of international co-operation is that an arrangement is agreed upon in which the expatriate counterpart works as a component of the research programme of the responsible Indonesian institution so that the results of this work may contribute to the development of that institution, as well as to the advancement of the expertise of the individual.

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LEONTINE E. VISSER

A note on social science research policy

Cultural comparison

When Masinambow conducted his linguistic survey in Sawai and Central Halmahera (Masinambow 1976) he was struck by the sociolinguistic effects of intermarriage between members of Austronesian and non-Austronesian language groups.

The existence of the two language communities within one geographical area allows one to posit the basic assumption that they originally possessed distinct and unrelated cultures. If it can no longer be proved that such distinctness and unrelatedness exists, then those cultures have in the course of time interpenetrated one another, or have leveled out due to the imposition of a third culture. Would in both of these cases the distinctness and unrelatedness of the linguistic codes remain unaffected or not?' (Masinambow 1980:72.)

In the social and cultural domains such 'leveling-out' processes, as Masinambow called them, are the result of 1. the introduction of Islam or Christianity 'bringing about separate settlement locations for each of its adherents that cut across ethnolinguistic boundaries', 2. the socio-political influences of the Sultanates of Ternate and Tidore, and 3. the introduction of products of modern technology, together with the exploitation of the natural resources, the improvements of infrastructure and transportation facilities, and the subsequent demand and mobilization of manpower (Masinambow 1980:71-3). A quick look at the proceedings of the past Halmahera seminars (see the list at the end of this volume) and the contributions to the present volume shows the relevance of this original question.

Thus, for example, the cultural notions on land (use) and social organization of the Christianized Sahu may be compared to those of the Islamic Gimán in order to show what, if any, kind of leveling-out has been effected by each of these religious value systems. Neither of the two seems to have influenced the pan-Halmahera socio-cosmic notions of seaward and landward, nor their meaning in agricultural rituals and practice. Other cultural features are partly influenced. For example, among the Gimán studied by Teljeur the cultural practice of the blackening of the teeth of marriageable children did not survive the Islamization of Gimán culture,

whereas other practices, like the filing of teeth, did. In other words, comparative studies may provide an insight into which sociocultural institutions are, and which are not, influenced by Islamic, Christian, or national value systems, and to what extent they have adopted these external values. The example of Tidore by Baker clearly shows that Eastern Indonesian societies do not just adapt to external powers, but that they actively select and classify indigenous and external elements. These deliberate cultural and social choices are often at the basis of processes which are termed 'development' or 'modernization'.

The research presented here provides us with evidence that social and cultural developments are not simply processes either of accidental integration nor of the conservation of cultural diversity. Reality is much more complex. For example, a first comparison between Sahu and Tobelo societies (see also the films by Jouwersma 1985 and Nijland 1985) does not provide an explanation of why, in the course of twentieth-century cultural development, the Tobelorese chose to retain their traditional marriage ritual, but neglected their ceremonial houses (*halu*) and agricultural rituals, whereas the Sahu recast their marriage ritual in a Christian form, yet remain the only people in Halmahera who maintain their ceremonial houses (*sasa'du*) and the annual harvest rituals.

Further comparative analysis of the two societies, however, shows that different social and cultural values are stressed or that different stress is put on the same values, a fact that may very well be influenced by the different historical roles of Sahu and Tobelo societies in the socio-political context of the Ternate Sultanate. The Sahu still highly value their historical role as providers of rice to the Sultan's court and its dependents and call themselves 'the women of Halmahera', although they stopped paying the rice tribute by the end of last century. They consider themselves as 'wife-givers' to the Sultans of Ternate in the context of the political organization of the Sultanate and of Halmahera's subordination to the Sultans of both Ternate and Tidore. In return, they received what they call 'a gift from the Sultan' (*cucatu re ma 'olana*) that is, imported woven textiles (see Visser 1989) and sometimes land.

The impact of development

The impact of development has become an ever more popular research topic, also for West European social scientists. Apart from issues like social and cultural integration, there is also quite another reason. The recent economic and political debate about the role of social scientists and the social sciences with regard to development processes has influenced the organization of academic research in the sense that many social science staff are

now forced to look elsewhere outside the scientific funding agencies for their research financing, whereas the research funding agencies themselves have to account for their support in terms of 'developmental relevance' and 'applicability' of the results. This is not so much because they have to account for the quality of the research itself, as because they have to account for it in terms of bureaucratic values.

The evaluation of social science research is thus submitted to the fallacy of control by means of the formulation of ambiguous criteria to distinguish 'pure' and 'applied' research. Yet, the history of the natural sciences, and the phenomenon of serendipity, show that the relationship between scientific research and its application is a more complex one. Research may have been carried out without any intention or purpose of application; there is research the results of which were intended to be applied, and research the results of which were applied, although this was never intended at the time of the research nor by the researcher (De Josselin de Jong 1991:137-8).

In a country like Indonesia the distinction between social science research which is applied, not applied or not yet applied seems to be of a different order because of the need for the development of the nation-state. Thus Masinambow (1980:71) formulates the twin purposes of the Halmahera programme as follows: 'to advance scholarly knowledge of the peoples and cultures in Halmahera and adjacent islands and to contribute to the various aspects of development of the area'. In this formulation scientific research is explicitly linked to the application of its results. The research is applied in the sense that its findings are ideally formulated in such a way as to apply them to the social, cultural and linguistic situation described, or to a comparable situation. Yet it can never be the researcher who is supposed to apply the results, but the Indonesian policy makers. Following Masinambow in his present evaluation of the Halmahera Research Project, we may conclude that the programme was a success in the way it has improved historical, anthropological and linguistic knowledge about the region.

Yet, its impact on regional development is considered less evident, not because of a lack of relevant or 'applicable' information but because of the lack of indications as to how these scholarly writings could be translated into a language better understood by the political-administrative decision-makers at the different bureaucratic levels. The application of social science research is often a matter of communication between different 'genres of knowledge', in Valeri's terms. Only a few bureaucrats and scholars are sufficiently trained to communicate with each other, or regard it as necessary to do so. Moreover, some kinds of knowledge simply cannot be translated into practical advice, yet may serve a process of understanding in a more indirect way. The Eastern Indonesian seminars which were subsequently held in Ternate (1979), Jakarta (1981), Ambon (1984), Manado

(1985) and Jayapura (1988), involved both scientists and government administrators. The discussions, even the misunderstandings, during these seminars largely contributed to the general awareness of the need for social science and linguistic research as a basis for development policies.

There is one type of 'social engineering' in which scientists – mostly foreigners who serve with international development organizations – do co-operate with Indonesian policy makers and implementors at local level. It is called 'action research' and has been developed primarily in the field of agricultural development. The main characteristics are: 1. the existence of knowledge based on scientific research, and 2. the interaction between the application by the researcher and the local situation and condition. Central to this kind of joint activity between the researcher and the Indonesian planner or policy implementor are the 'learning process approach' (D.C. Korten 1980) and 'community participation' (F.F. Korten 1983). A methodology often related to this approach is the 'Rapid Rural Appraisal' (Chambers 1981; *Proceedings* 1987). This kind of positivist thinking becomes increasingly popular in Indonesian research planning for its seemingly close fit between social scientific hypotheses and what is regarded as 'reality' by policy makers. But there are a few bottlenecks and conditions which concern us here.

The first is the process of development policy planning. Although much of 'reality' is formulated at national level, the implementation of nationally formulated policies is often changed at lower bureaucratic levels, due to the socio-political context and the content of the policies, but without the necessary legitimation at central level (Grindle 1980; Grindle and Thomas 1991). However, professionalization and managerial training of regional level officials still have a long way to go, a problem which is now generally acknowledged by the term 'institutional capacity building' of the development bureaucracy (Esman 1986; Esman and Uphoff 1984). Nevertheless, social science research focusing on the comparison between bureaucratic, scientific and regionally differentiated values as regards the notion of development (see for example Heryanto 1988) has only just started in Indonesia.

A second problem is that Indonesian and foreign researchers, in order to gather the relevant information, should be enabled to stay and communicate with the local population for several shorter or longer periods during a number of years. Processes of social development are never completed nor analysed within a short period of time. Indonesian university staff often do not have the financial means, nor the tradition, to do field research for a longer period of time. Senior foreign scholars working with universities, on the other hand, are often not in a position to be engaged in long-term programmes abroad, unlike junior fellows. These are mostly Ph.D. students, however, who are primarily accountable to their home universities. In

other words, the junior researchers are not the ones to blame if scientific research is written in a language form that cannot easily be understood by policy makers and implementors.

The Halmahera Research Project certainly was a success as regards the provision of scientific knowledge, but it was never designed to take the form of action research. Long-term scientific exchange between institutions like LIPI and the Indonesian universities, and foreign scientific institutions and universities, aiming at a long-term interdisciplinary exchange in an open dialogue with the local bureaucracy, seems to be the most viable way to the application of research findings.

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1. J.D.M. Platenkamp, Marriage and death; Social change in Tobelo.
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7. Ronald Lucardie, A note on the ethnicity paradigm in the North Moluccas.
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1. Paramita Abdurrachman, Sumber-sumber sejarah tentang Salawati, Raja Ampat.
2. A.C. van der Leeden, Masalah-masalah transmigrasi di daerah Sagu.
3. Tom Dedaida, Areal hutan sagu dan operasi pengeboran minyak di Salawati, Raja Ampat.
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9. *Christ Fautngil*, Situasi kebahasaan di pulau Salawati.
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2. *J.D.M. Platenkamp*, Tobelo identity.
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4. *Haryo S. Martodirdjo*, Organisasi sosial orang Tugutil di Halmahera Tengah.
5. *M. Huliselan*, Pengaruh penebangan hutan terhadap masyarakat sekitarnya.
6. *C.L. Voorhoeve*, Morfologi bahasa Ternate.
7. *Howard Sheldon*, Transitivity of Galela pronominal reference.

III. Lease, Kei, Babar dan Tanimbar

1. *J. Ayawaila*, Mashi, maano, dan badati; Suatu sistem kerjasama tradisional di kepulauan Lease, Maluku Tengah.
2. *A.P. van Dijk and H.C. de Jonge*, The house on the hill; Kinship systems in Babar, Southeast Moluccas.
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1. *A.C. van der Leeden*, Notes on kinship terminology in the Raja Ampat.
2. *Onnes Kambuaya*, Struktur kependudukan masyarakat pedalaman dan pesisir daerah sebelah timur Kepala Burung.
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4. *Lloyd Peckham*, Sejarah tradisional dan tertulis di Lobo; Cara menghadapi perobahan kebudayaan.
5. *Naffi Sanggenafa*, Tukar menukar dan perkawinan pada orang Karondori.

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II. Aspek-aspek sosial-budaya dan pembangunan

1. *Arnold Mampioer*, Sejarah perjalanan pemerintahan.
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3. *M. Menufandu*, Birokrasi dan pembangunan.
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1. *D.L. Pekei*, Pengendalian pertumbuhan penduduk melalui pengembangan kualitas hidup.
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1. *Mus Huliselan*, Pengembangan masyarakat pedesaan di Maluku.
2. *A. Tarimana*, Pemerintah desa di propinsi Sulawesi Tengah.
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The twelve contributions in *Halmahera and Beyond* reflect the directions currently being pursued in research on the anthropology, linguistics and history of the island of Halmahera, in the North Moluccas. The essays derive from the Fifth International Workshop on Indonesian Studies at the KITLV in Leiden in 1990, following earlier workshops organized by LIPI in Indonesia between 1978 and 1988.

Since the start of the Halmahera Research Project, initiated by LIPI and PRIS in 1976, social scientists, historians and linguists, both in Indonesia and abroad, have added considerably to the knowledge and understanding of Moluccan society, both past and present.

This volume brings together articles by A.B. Lopian, Ch.F. van Fraassen, James N. Baker, Barbara Dix Grimes, Simonne Pauwels, Cécile Barraud, Haryo S. Martodirdjo, D.J. Nijland, Dirk Teljeur, Valerio Valeri, E.K.M. Masinambow and Leontine E. Visser. These essays provide insight into current issues in the academic debate on eastern Indonesia and regional development. The achievements and shortcomings of international scholarship in this area in the 1980s are also discussed. The bibliography at the end of the book, finally, constitutes a necessary complement to Katrien Polman's bibliographies of the North Moluccas (1981) and the Central Moluccas (1983).

Leontine E. Visser (1947) studied at Leiden University. Her Ph.D. thesis, completed in 1984, was published as *My rice field is my child* in 1989. Presently she is associate professor of the anthropology and sociology of Indonesia at the University of Amsterdam.



KITLV Press
Leiden

ISBN 90 6718 072 6